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# A HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ISLAMIC CITY OF BANTEN INDONESIA

Halwany Michrob

A THESIS

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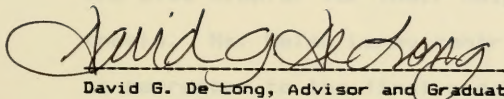
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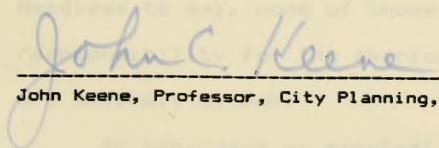
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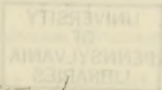


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A HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION  
OF THE ISLAMIC CITY OF BAHYEN  
IN CHINA

James H. H. H.

A. H. H.

1

The purpose of this work is to present a reconstruction of the Islamic city of Bahyen in China, based on the available evidence.

The reconstruction is based on the available evidence, and is presented as a hypothetical reconstruction of the Islamic city of Bahyen in China.

James H. H. H.

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In many ways my greatest debt is to my wife Raden Yaty Rummyati and children, whose encouragement and patient support were my greatest inspiration.





Finally, I wish to dedicate all that is good in this thesis to the next generation of Indonesian preservationists and archaeologists, in the hope that my work can contribute to the recovery and reconstruction of our nation's cultural heritage.

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Philadelphia, February 14, 1987

Halwany Michrob  
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## ABBREVIATIONS

AASLH	The American Association for State and Local History
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indie), uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- end Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indie):  Contributions to the Philology, Geography, and Ethnology (of the Netherlands East Indies). Published by the Royal Institute for Philology, Geography, and Ethnology (of the Netherlands East Indies).
DSP	Direktorat Sejarah dan Purbakala (Directorate of History and Archaeology)
HJG	N.J. Krom, <u>Hindoe-Javanese geschiedenis</u> (second rev. ed.; The Hague, 1931)
HPP	Historic Preservation Program
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council of Monuments and Sites
JSAS	Journal of Southeast Asian Studies
MS	Manuscript
OV	Oudheidkundig Verslag uitgegeven door het (koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.  -Archaeological Report Published by the (Royal) Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences
PUSPAN	Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional (The National Centre of Archaeology)
ROD	Rapport van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indie (Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Netherlands East Indies)
RSAP	The Research of Southeast Asia and Pacific
SPAFA	Seameo (Southeast Asian Minister of Education Organization) Project in Archaeology and Fine Arts
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- Volkenkunde





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Society of Arts and Sciences

VBG

Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch  
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## Chapter One: Introduction

### 1.1 Objectives

This thesis concerns the hypothetical reconstruction of the Islamic city of Banten, Indonesia. For more than one hundred years this site lay deserted, abandoned even before the end of the Sultanates of Banten. A minor port of the north coast of Java brought to life by conquering Moslem merchant-evangelists coming from the more eastern parts of the island, Banten flourished with the spice trade during the early European expansion overseas. But its greatness was short-lived. Old Banten is a lost city, and most of its monuments are buried and covered with grass. Unfortunately, there are very few published accounts describing Banten, especially after it was conquered by Maulana Hasanuddin 1525 A.D. It quickly became the principal port in western Java, replacing Sunda Kalapa (now Jakarta, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia). As the sixteenth century passed, Banten surpassed the other competing market places along Java's north coast, and by 1596 it was the largest and most prosperous of them all. There are also very few published accounts during the critical 70 years of its development from its founding as an Islamic city to the arrival of the first fleets from northern Europe, and they are brief. The earliest detailed descriptions of Banten yet published were written by the first Dutch and English visitors who began to



arrive in 1596. Possible archives in Portugal or elsewhere contain older manuscripts, but if so, they still lie undiscovered. Old Banten was almost certainly the largest city in northern coastal Java, and in all probability, in the whole of Southeast Asia in 1596; Cornelis de Houtman estimated that the Islamic city of Banten was about the same size as Amsterdam, the city from which his fleet had departed.<sup>1</sup> Banten shared a number of basic characteristics with other large Javanese ports; indeed there are enough similarities to suggest that they were built according to an abstract plan of what a settlement should be (see Chapter two: 2.3.3).

Moreover, old Banten possessed some attributes commonly found in contemporary Islamic cities in other parts of the world. The most prominent centers of activity, in Moslem cities such as those in India and Africa as well as in Arab countries, seem to have been the palace or *qasr*, markets and mosques. Old Banten was divided into quarters according to occupation and ethnicity, as were late mediaeval cities in other Islamicized parts of the world. Even Banten's position as one of the largest cities of Java and Southeast Asia during that time, not only at the turn of the seventeenth century, but possibly in all history up to that point, is a characteristic which it held in common with other major Moslem cities of the late sixteenth or seventeenth century. If the origin of cities in Java had in



fact coincided with the spread of Islam, and the component elements of the cities were common to much of the Islamic world, one might predict that the pattern of settlement within the new Javanese cities also would have imitated a standard Islamic form. On the contrary, however, the physical distribution of public and private place in Old Banten (and elsewhere) continues the traditional layout of the Javanese court complexes of pre-Islamic time as will be described; Java can therefore be said to possess an indigenous pattern of urbanization, with some elements common to contemporary cities in other parts of Southeast Asia. If we reflect on the consideration that these cities evolve from the acts of many individuals, then we can conclude that the introduction of Islam did no result in a revolutionary change in the Javanese way of life, but rather underwent a process of gradual evolution by stages. Although the building architectures of Old Banten contain architectural and architectonic elements derived from an earlier Hindu-Javanese style, its settlement patterns and general plan appear to conform to a pattern common to Islamic cities both in Java and throughout the Moslem world. Historical data support this assumption.

Historical sources might allow us to reconstruct these stages in general detail. As more archaeology is conducted, however, we may become more informed about the connections between this religious change with changes in other spheres





of cultures. When in 1596 we first see Old Banten in detail, the settlement and the life of the people have already undergone some change. The first picture we see, therefore, is of a population in whose lives the Islamic religion is pervasive, for example, according to Keuning,<sup>2</sup> that Islamic criminal law was already in effect by the Sultan, but the city scape in which they pursue those lives presents features that originated at an earlier time, and perhaps in the very different setting of an agrarian hinterland rather than a bustling international commercial establishment.

The rich history of Banten has left many physical traces, both large, such as the fortifications of Surosowan Palace and Speelwijk fortress, and small, as in the thousands of porcelain shards scattered about the site. Contemplating these artifacts, individuals who made Banten Indonesia's first major city during that time.

The major problem for a modern reconstruction of the plan of the Islamic city of Banten is that it has been a lost city from the beginning of the decline and fall of the Banten kingdom from 1811-1830. Here, the effects of Napoleonic wars on Banten, by 1808 the Dutch East India Company had been abolished and Banten, like the rest of Dutch-ruled Indonesia, was under the administration of the Netherlands Indies Governor General. The Netherlands themselves were then among the countries conquered by France



during the Napoleonic wars. In that year, Marshall Daendels, a soldier who had served under Napoleon, was sent to Java as Governor. He made much use of forced labor to prepare for a possible attack from the British, including the construction of a road from Anyer, on Banten's west coast, to Panarukan, 1,000 kilometers east, for military use; many died under the harsh conditions, and many deserted. Under the exactions of Marshall Daendels, a revolt occurred; Daendels led an army which stormed and looted Banten. The Palace and most parts of the city were burnt down, thus ending the kingdom of Banten. Its suppression, the invasion by the English, the removal of the center of the Sultanate to Serang, the subsequent abdication of the ruler, and the ultimate intentional destruction of the Islamic city can be shown.

Using contemporary maps and modern aerial photographic data, I propose to formulate a research method leading up to a plan for the reconstruction of Islamic Old Banten. It is evident from documentary sources that the Islamic city of Banten was based on an urban plan consisting of specialized systems. However, it is difficult to determine from these sources (such as the map of Old Banten drawn by L. Serrurier in 1902, and the report of F. Valentijn in 1726) how many of these clusters here in this site were located. By comparing old maps and aerial photographic analyses, and archaeological excavations of the actual city of Bante, I



will attempt to establish the shifting patterns, space and usage in the Islamic history of Old Banten.

Clearly, to solve the major problems of the reconstruction of this city, we must also consider the fruits of archaeological and architectural field researches so as to reflect the activities on the populace of the Banten urban area over time.

## 1.2 Research Method of Hypothetical Reconstruction

Of Old Banten's multi-layered society and cultural activities, only fragments of settlements and artifacts remain. As discussed above, induction and deduction can work together to produce a harmonious method for generating new hypotheses or principles from particulars, and these can then be tested. I have used the term "hypothesis" because it expresses a proposed relationship between two or more variables, based upon certain assumptions or "givens".

In testing a hypothesis, Sharer and Ashmore say:

"...one attempts to determine how well it actually accounts for the observed phenomena. One type of hypothesis tested in the REese River Ecological Project, for example, related the presence of sites to particular predictable kinds of locations. The research team discovered 65 sites, of which all but 2 were in expected locales. They also found 11 "appropriate" locales that lacked sites, although the theory predicted that sites would be there. Even so, these results strongly support the relationships expressed by the hypothesis. It is important to remember that a hypothesis must be tested by rigorous and efficient scientific procedure. It is generally agreed that to test any given hypothesis, one must



perform the following steps:

1. Devise a series of alternative and mutually exclusive hypotheses.
2. Devise a test (usually an experiment) that will discriminate among the various hypotheses.
3. Perform the test or experiment (or gather the relevant data, as in the Reese River Valley reconnaissance).
4. Eliminate those hypotheses found not to be supported.

This procedure does not attempt to "prove" one hypothesis correct.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, like any science, the hypothetical method deals with a specified class of phenomena, the remains of past human activity. It also attempts to isolate, classify, and explain the relationship among the variables of these phenomena - in this case, the variables are form, function, space, and time. By this method, I may then infer past human behavior and reconstruct past human activities from the data which I obtained during my field research last summer, 1986. In a sense, archaeology is both a behavioral science and a social science - it uses the scientific method to understand past human social behavior. I use these data to formulate and test alternative hypotheses to exclude all but the most acceptable. The method continues to grow and mature as a discipline: as a part of this process, it has become increasingly dependent upon the scientific method to reach its goal.<sup>4</sup>

As a result, the less-than-rigorous research done in





the past is being replaced by the careful procedures of science. I should like to present my assumptions and hypotheses, and explain how these hypotheses would be tested.

Field checks and interpretation at several locations in the ancient city of Banten from the beginning of the Restoration project in 1977 by archaeologists and restorers, up to 1986, were carried out to supply data for further analyses. The main objectives of these analyses have been to spot and trace shifting of the site during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. This has also meant attempting to identify economic mobilities, socially and politically in Old Banten as a center of government and as a trade port during the 300 years this city flourished through international trade.<sup>2</sup> In turn, these might provide answers as to the question of agents causing these shifts: economic activities, wars, or geographical factors such as shallowing of the river, or change in the river course - either naturally or artificially.

Historical data give sufficient evidence of the composition of Old Banten as a compound city comprised of smaller elements, that is, Old Banten can be considered as a system consisting of a number of sub-units. The location of sub-units might indicate a settlement pattern, distribution of community, group, trade- and defense-systems, social structure, etc. It was assumed that over-arching political and economic structures unite these sub-systems. Historical



data also provide records of the geographical situation of the political and economic systems, and their inter-relationships.<sup>4</sup>

According to Hasan M. Ambary,<sup>7</sup> Old Banten consisted of at least 33 elements (units) among which 3 main sub-divisions could be discerned:

- a. Groupings based on ethnicity; i.e. Pakojan, Kebalen, Pacinan, etc.
- b. Groupings based on occupation; i.e. Kapandean, Panjunan, Pajantren, etc.
- c. Groupings based on social stratification; i.e. Kapurban, Kesatrian, etc.

The 1976-1984 excavation activities of Old Banten were carried out by the Department of Islamic Archaeology of the National Research Centre for Archaeology in collaboration with the Archaeological section of the University of Indonesia. The purpose of this study is to obtain a settlement pattern for comparison with other ancient cities in Indonesia. This excavation was the first in an overall plan to study ancient Indonesian city planning and succeeding in finding some indication of ancient settlements, such as industrial and court settlements by comparing data from historical and archaeological studies so to learn how and why the cultural systems operate and change. From this perspective, the study of Islamic Old Banten, in this sense historical evidence and archaeological activities provides data regarding the city planning of Old Banten.



An estimate of population can be obtained from contemporary descriptions of size and available data on rice imports in Southeast Asian cities. These data indicate that at any specific moment between 1500-1650 there were six to eight Southeast Asian cities in the twenty thousand to fifty thousand population range, and that the biggest settlements like Ayuthaya in Siam, Pegu, Malacca, Makasar, and Bante, approached a hundred thousand inhabitants at their peaks. This suggests that Southeast Asia's cities were about as populous as those of western Europe at the time, even though its total population is estimated at less than twenty million, as against about one hundred million each in Europe and China.<sup>6</sup>

In comparison with the dominant agricultural villages of pre-industrial Europe and China, South Asia was marked by still largely unsettled hinterlands with associated, relatively coastal cities. This is no more than we would expect of one of the world's most important commercial thoroughfares, penetrated everywhere by water-ways, and carrying not only the spices of the whole world, but also the trade goods of China on their way to Europe and the West.

According to the old maps and pictures, Old Banten can be characterized as a maritime city with many canals surrounding it, from Banten river to the sea. For a variety of reasons, some of these canals became filled with mud to



become level ground. Waterways were used not only for trade, but also as a way of life. As a French observer noted around 1600, "their people are constrained to keep up continual intercourse with one another, the one supplying what the other needs".<sup>9</sup>

Rivers of Southeast Asia gave rise to commercially based city states as a dominant social form. It is abundantly clear that in each of the early urban, usually maritime, settlements where Islam became established, such as in Phanrang (central coast of Vietnam), Petani, Pasai, Malacca, Aceh, Padang, Sulawesi, Banten, and the central Javanese Kingdom of Mataram. A dimension of Islam in Southeast Asia that must always be stressed is the importance of membership in a community; a community in which the trade and rule of law is of paramount importance. Moslem law covers every aspect of life - ritual, personal, family, criminal, commercial, etc. And it may well be that one of the bases of Islamicization in Southeast Asia from early thirteenth century was the stability and business confidence that Moslem commercial law engendered among members of the Moslem trading community and those with whom they traded. <sup>10</sup> (see Chapter two)

One source of knowledge of these subjects is the catalogues in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences. The supplementary catalogue to these collections by van Ronkel gives some idea of the variety and extent of





the Society's (now the National Museum's) holding. Van Ronkel remarks:

"the significance of the Batavia collection is due to the fact that it contains a number of Muhammadan documents brought together from the whole of the archipelago, from Aceh to Madura and from Banten to Celebes."<sup>11</sup>

By applying a hypothetical reconstruction method to the specific problems of the archaeological remains in Old Banten which remain intact for us to work with, our task is the same: to obtain as clear a view of the past as possible by reconstructing the physical remains, the behavior of individuals and events affecting the society.

To study the past, we have developed a methodology or series of techniques and procedures for collecting evidence, method, theory, and interpretation.



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3. Sharer, Robert J. and Wendy Ashmore, Fundamentals of Archaeology, (California: Menlo Park, 1979) p. 27
4. Ibid., p. 29
5. Kartodihardjo, Sartono, Sejarah Nasional III., Jaman Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Kerajaan Islam di Indonesia, (National History of Indonesia, the growth and development of Islamic Kingdom in Indonesia) Ed. Uka Tjandrasmita (Jakarta: Dept. Education and Culture, 1975) pp. 4-15
6. Mundardjito (Ed.), Berita penelitian: Arkeologi Banten Lama 1976, (The exploration report: Archaeological site of Banten 1976) pp. 5-10
7. Ambary, Hasan Muarif, A Preliminary Report of the Excavation on the Urban Site in Banten (West Java), Bangkok: IAHA, 1977, p. 5
8. Reid, Anthony, "The Structure of Cities in Southeast Asia", Journal of Southeast Asian Studies XI, (1980), No. 2
9. "The Voyage of Francis Pyrard de Laval to Indies" (London, 1887-90) p. 169 cited in A. Reid, Southeast Asian Cities before Colonialism, Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, Melbourne 1985, pp. 145-146
10. Johns, A.H., From Coastal Settlement to Islamic School and City: Islamicization in Sumatra, The Malay Peninsula and Java, (Hambad: Islamicus Vol. IV., 1979) No. 4, p. 5
11. Ibid., p. 6



## Chapter Two

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In determining a reconstruction of Old Banten, several models present themselves. First, we may look to the ideal model of the "Islamic City" as first expressed in Arabia and later developed through Moslem West Asia. Second, we may look to the Islamic and non-Islamic cities of Southeast Asia, most particularly to the Hindu-Buddhist cities of Java that preceded old Banten. In either case we must attempt to derive a general model of urban geography, as best the scanty data will allow, with a view to seeing which model- or a combination of models- best supports a hypothetical reconstruction of old Banten. I will now discuss each of these alternative models in turn.

#### 2.1 The World of the Islamic City

In consideration of the hypothesis that old Banten developed as an Islamic city, we must first explore the prototype for old Banten, that is, the first Islamic city, built by Prophet Muhammed himself. The concept of the city in Islamic thought is intimately bound up in the traditions surrounding the activities of the Prophet. As the founder



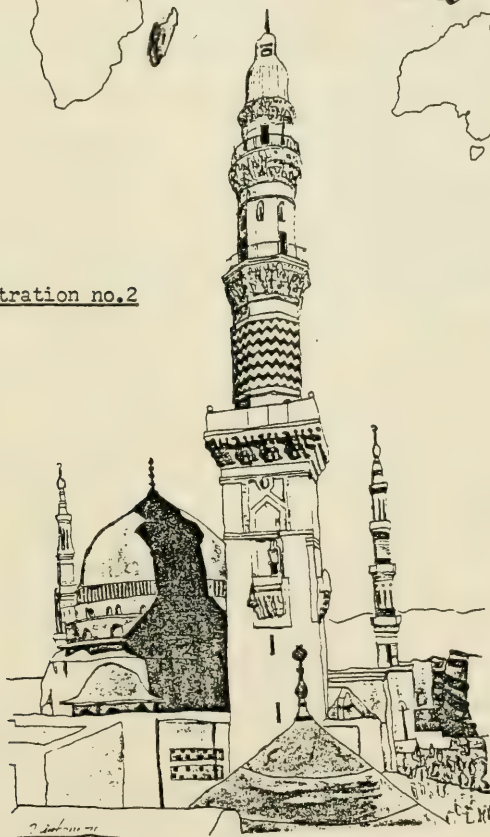
Illustration no. 1.

-The map of Islamic world

- Mecca
- Madinah

The extent of the Islamic world.

Reprinted from :  
Jim Antoniou,  
Islamic cities and conservation,  
Geneva:UNESCO,  
1981,p.18

Illustration no.2

The Green Dome above  
Mohammed's Mausoleum  
in Madina ( Saudi Arabia).

Reprinted from :  
Jim Antoniou, Islamic  
cities and conservation,  
Geneva:UNESCO,1981, p.2





of Islam, Muhammed was also the founder of the Islamic thereafter. Consequently, a consideration of Islamic urban ideology must begin with an account of Muhammed both as Prophet and as a city planner.

The faith of Islam began around 610 A.D. when Prophet Muhammed (born in Mecca, 571 A.D.) received the first revelation in his solitary cave on the mount of Hira some miles from the city of Mecca. He began to preach to the people in the city of Mecca exhorting them to give up the many idols they worshipped and to submit to the One and Indivisible God - Allah is the One - and Muhammed found followers. In 622 A.D., he and his Sahabah (supporters) were invited to the oasis of Madinah some 340 Kilometers northwest of Mecca. They went, and this was the beginning of the "hijra" or the first year of the Moslem era. That the emigration to Madinah was the decisive moment in Muhammed's mission was recognized by the first generation of Moslems (illus. 3). In Mecca, Muhammed had preached his new faith as a private citizen, and in Madinah he quickly became a ruler wielding political and military as well as religious authority. The Prophet designed and built the mosque and living quarters in this small town. In the construction of the mosque, Muhammed worked with his own hands as did the moslems.<sup>1</sup>

The few sources concerning the first mosque and city of Madinah have only limited descriptions of the layout. Based

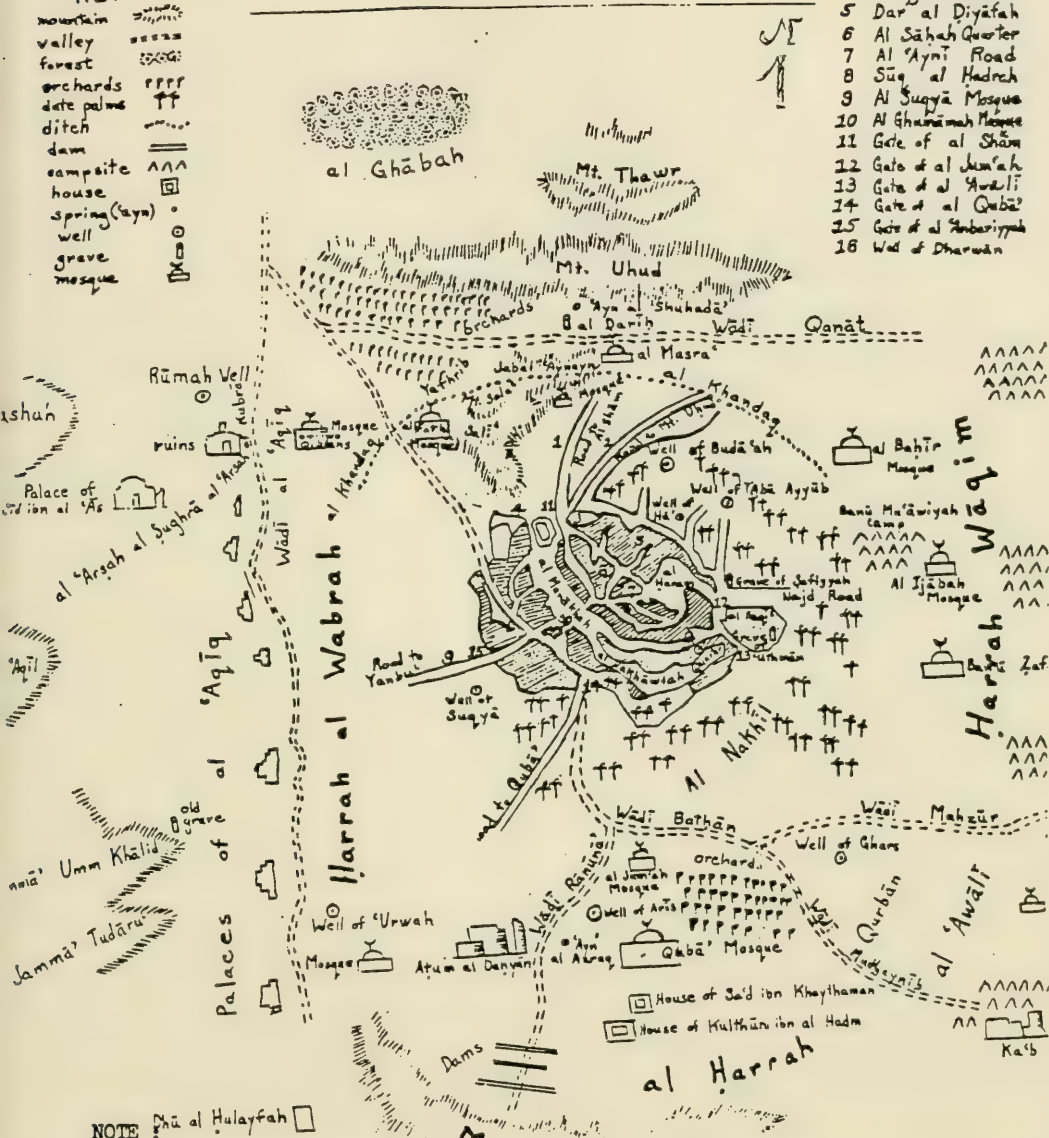


AND VICINITY

KEY

- |              |     |
|--------------|-----|
| mountain     | 山   |
| valley       | 谷   |
| forest       | 林   |
| orchards     | 果园  |
| date palms   | 椰树  |
| ditch        | 沟   |
| dam          | 坝   |
| campsite     | 营地  |
| house        | 房子  |
| spring (ayn) | 泉   |
| well         | 井   |
| grave        | 坟墓  |
| mosque       | 清真寺 |

- 1 Thaniyyah al Wud'at
- 2 Mt. al Mastandir
- 3 Sa'ifah Dunā Sāhib
- 4 Thaniyyah al-Haṭṭh
- 5 Dar al Diyāfah
- 6 Al Sāhib Quarter
- 7 Al 'Ayni Road
- 8 Sūq al Hadrah
- 9 Al Suqqā Mosque
- 10 Al Ghannimah Mosque
- 11 Gate of al Shām
- 12 Gate of al Jum'ah
- 13 Gate of al Aḥḍi
- 14 Gate of al Qubā'
- 15 Gate of al Anbariyyah
- 16 Wall of Dharran



NOTE

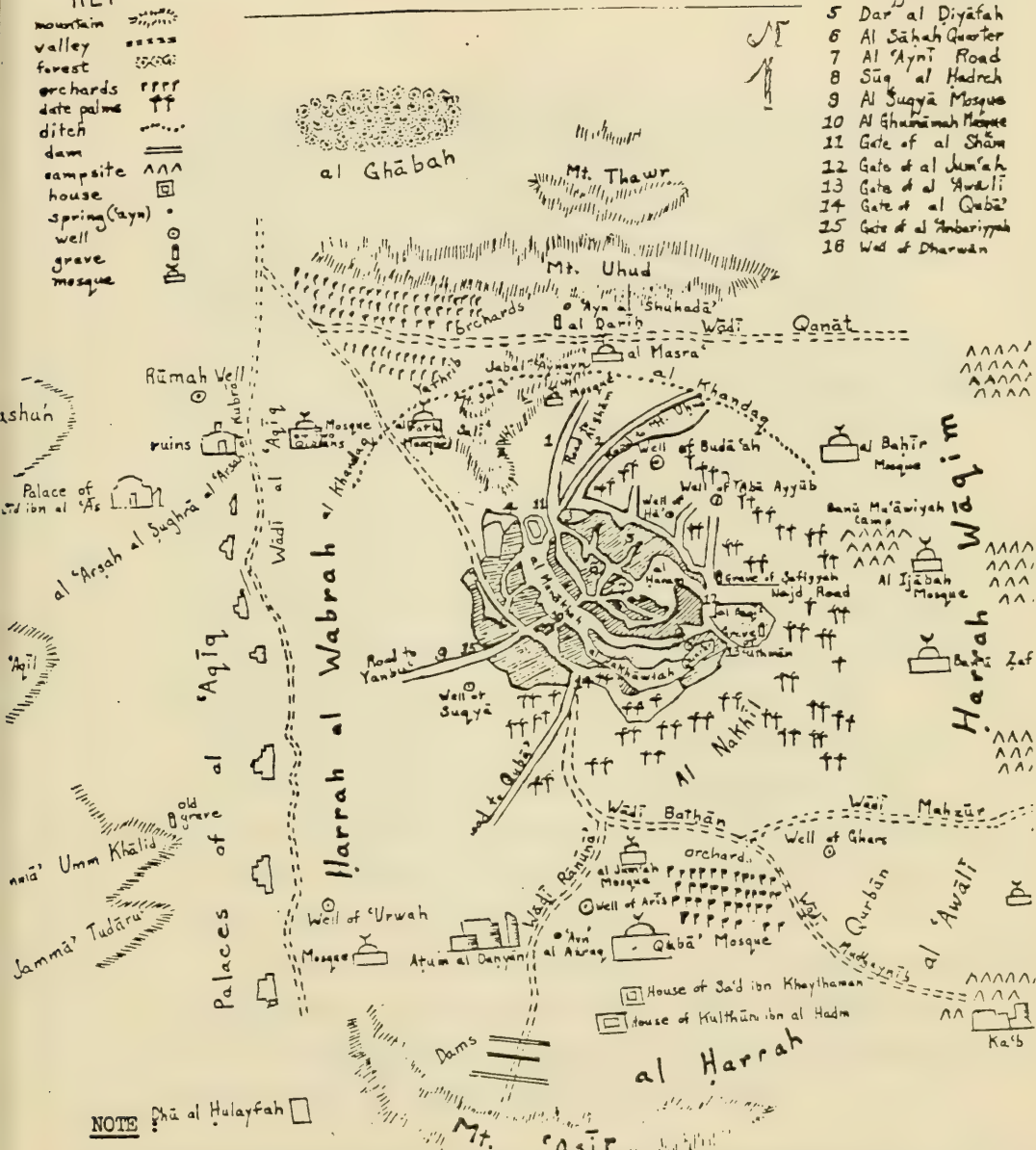
NOTE Dhū al-Hulayfah ☐ Mt. 'Asīr

The contemporary urban map of the city "al-Madinah al-Munawwarah" found by Mohammad Husayn Haykal, based on his interpretation from original sources of historical and archaeological evidences. It is taken from the book "The Life of Muhammad, Translated by Ismail Ragi A. al-Faruqi ( Delhi:Zia Offset Press, 1976 ) p.187



AND VICINITY

mountain	山
valley	山谷
forest	森林
orchards	果园
date palms	椰树
ditch	沟渠
dam	大坝
sampsite	采样点
house	房子
spring (ayn)	泉
well	井
grave	坟墓
mosque	清真寺



- 1 Thaniyyah al Wad'at
- 2 Mt. al Mustandir
- 3 Sa'ifah Basa Sa'idah
- 4 Thaniyyah 'Ala Sath
- 5 Dar al Diyafah
- 6 Al Sāhah Quarter
- 7 Al 'Ayni Road
- 8 Sūq al Hadrah
- 9 Al Suqā Mosque
- 10 Al Ghannimah Mosque
- 11 Gate of al Shām
- 12 Gate of al Jum'ah
- 13 Gate of al 'Avali
- 14 Gate of al Qubā'
- 15 Gate of al 'Ambariyyah
- 16 Wad of Dharwan

NOTE: Dhū al-Hulayṭan ☐

The contemporary urban map of the city "Al-Madinah al-Munawwarah" found by Mohammad Husayn Haykal, based on his interpretation from original sources of historical and archaeological evidences. It is taken from the book "The Life of Muhammad, Translated by Ismail Ragi A. al-Faruqi ( Delhi: Zia Offset Press, 1976 ) p.187



on Arabic sources from that time, Haykal described (cited from el-Hadist Rosulullah, collected by Bukhary and Muslim) that the mosque consisted of a vast courtyard whose four walls were built out of bricks and mud. A part of it was covered with a ceiling made from date trunks and leaves. Another part was devoted to shelter to the poor who had no home at all. The mosque was not lit during the night except for the hour during night prayer. At that time, some straw was burned for light. The Prophet bought the land for the mosque and living quarters from the Anzor (helper) or Medinese and began to plan a new city. While the mosque was being erected, he stayed in the house of Abu Ayyub ibn Zayd al-Anshari. When the mosque was completed, they built on one side of it living quarters for the Prophet. As recounted, this operation did not overtax anyone, for the two structures were utterly simple and economical. The living quarters of the Prophet were no more luxurious than the mosque although they had to be more closed in order to give a measure of privacy (ill. 4).<sup>2</sup>

According to literary sources cited by Creswell,<sup>3</sup> the first monument in Islam was the house which Muhammed built on his arrival at Madinah, of which the courtyard eventually became the first mosque. As Creswell writes:

"He set about the construction of a dwelling for himself, a dar (village), which in Arabia at that time consisted of a series of small rooms grouped together in an irregular and haphazard fashion around an open courtyard, more or less spacious according to the







MUHAMMAD'S HOUSE, Medina, Saudi Arabia. A.D. 622

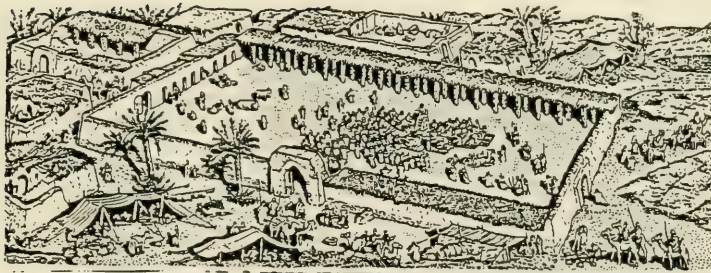


Illustration No. 4. This picture is taken from Helen's reconstruction. He describes as follows:

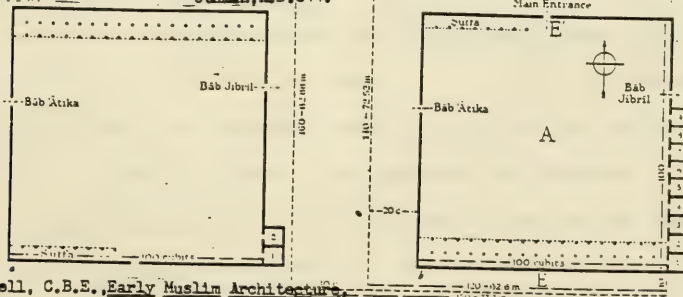
"Muhammad's house, Madina, A.D. 622, consisted of open courtyard in which the household tasks were carried out. The rooms for his wives were built against the outer face of one of the mud-brick walls surrounding the court. When his followers gathered in the open space to listen to and talk with the Prophet and join him at prayers, a shelter - zulla - with palm trunks supporting a roof of palm leaves, was erected to protect them from burning sun. A further simple shelter - suffa - was provided for the poor. In Muhammad's house can be seen the basic ingredients of mosque". Based on Islamic tradition, elhadits.

from : Buildings of Early Islam, Helen & Richard Leacroft, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976, p.2

Illustration No. 5. Madina : Muhammad's house, (a) before change of qibla; (b) after change of qibla.

The other reconstruction of Muhammad's house is drawn by Creswell based on the biography of Muhammad by Ibn Sa'ad (A.D. 845) by order of the Khalif al-Walid. He describes :

"1 - 4. Rooms of mud brick, roofed with palm branches and mud. 5 - 9. Rooms of reeds and mud, roofed with palm branches and mud. B. Enlargement of 'Umar (A.D. 638). C. Enlargement of 'Uthman, A.D. 644."



Creswell, C.B.E., Early Muslim Architecture.

New York :

HackerArt Book, 1979, p.8



number and means of the family living in it. ...The courtyard was thus the meeting place of the family, and the union of these elements was so close that only one door opened onto the exterior. As the family increased, other rooms were built against the wall; all the free space was taken up by additional buildings, and it became necessary to construct a new dar. This system, which still exists at the present day in many poor villages of Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, was adopted by Muhammed, who at that time was anticipating a considerable increase in his family, and therefore required a dar of ample dimensions, large enough not only for his own wives, but for his daughters and their husbands."

Upon the completion of the building, Muhammed left the house of Abu Ayyub and moved into the new quarters. He began to think of this new life which he had just initiated and the wide gate it opened for his mission. The various tribes and clans of the city were already competing with one another, and they differed among themselves in ways for reasons unknown to any Meccan. Yet it was equally obvious that they all longed for peace and freedom from the differences and hostilities which had torn them apart in the past. Moreover, they were ambitious to build a peaceful future capable of greater prestige and prosperity than Meccan had ever enjoyed. The purpose of Muhammed's home, which consisted of an open courtyard in which the household tasks were carried out, the nature of this building, which afterwards they called "masjid" (sajd = prostration, masjid = place of prostration) or mosque is indirectly demonstrated by a mass of tradition. Muhammad's intention for this open courtyard was the construction of a place of worship. It is



more in accordance with fact to say that Muhammed built his house for his own private use, and laid it out in the fashion which was customary in his day, and that afterwards, the courtyard gradually assumed a more public character. Creswell describes:

"At the beginning, the courtyard was quite open, but after that a portico was built consisting of a number of palm trunks, used as columns, supporting the roof of palm branches (jarid) woven together and covered with mud. There were three doors: 1. the principle one in the south wall which the Believers used to enter. 2. the Bab ar-Rahmah; and 3. the Bab Uthman, or Bab Jibril, which Prophet Muhammed used to enter. Against the outer wall of the courtyard, at the south and of the east side, two houses were built for the two wives of Muhammed, Sawda and A'isha; they also were built of mud bricks and thatched with palm leaves and mud. When Muhammed later took other wives he built similar houses for each one, until ultimately there were nine huts between the House of A'isha and the northeast corner of the building. All these huts, which were known by the name of hujra (room), were constructed against the east side of the building and on the outside of the enclosing wall, and all opened into the courtyard which had to be crossed to enter them; none were built against the west side. Before their doors hung curtains of some rough material (musuh). They were 6-7 cubits square."<sup>4</sup>

By comparing data from the beginning of Islamic growth which operated and changed, in this sense historical sources and archaeological evidences obtain the physical data being the foundation of the ancient city of the beginning of Islamic world (ill. 5).

Arabic was, of course, the language of the laws and of religious culture wherever early Moslem communities grew up, and so by and large it was to remain. In the consideration



of Islamic urban and city planning ideology, a market was also a very important requisite. For when they finished building the mosque and their houses, a market place was built, led by Abdel Rahman ibn Auf, and he began to sell cheese and butter, and in short time achieved a measure of affluence fair enough to enable him to send caravans in trade. Many people followed his example. They developed Madinah from a small town into a large Islamic city.<sup>5</sup> So, the mosque and Muhammed's house were the first Islamic architecture, and the quarters and the market place were erected as the beginning of the Islamic city, here in Madinah.

The shift of the Caliphate from Damascus to Baghdad paralleled the shift of the focus of Moslem civilization from the eastern Mediterranean to the fringe of Asia. The 9th and 10th centuries saw the emergence of an increasingly well-defined Persian Identity of the city within the Islamic world. The independent kingdoms which arose in the eastern lands of the Abassid caliphate were Persian kingdoms; the Persians, who had been swallowed whole when the Arabs devoured the Sassanian empire and had been Moslem, began to express themselves again politically. The courts, particularly that of the Samanids (819-1005), became patrons of the new evolving Persian culture, and dominant in the Moslem land empire of Asia.<sup>6</sup>

From the beginning of Islam, a certain number of towns





became administrative capitals and, regardless of size, the character of these prefectures was affected by governmental presence. Another form may be termed the outcome of a catalytic environment. For instance, the town of Isfahan was formed out of a number of villages and small urban centers. At a few key moments these separate entities were unified through externally appointed authorities. The city was born out of local developments and external actions. By decree, other cities were mostly official creations and belonged to a corporate group. The ultimate character and the development of these cities has varied enormously, yet they all owe their beginning to the state. In attempting many portraits of the ancient Islamic cities, they can be divided into five themes: the quarters, the religious communities, the wealth, the state and the taste. The importance of living quarters was affected by such variables as the sources of the water or the predominant material of construction. The city of Jerusalem, dependent on cisterns and expensive aqueducts, could not develop the appearance of Damascus or Fez with abundant water easily accessible through canalization, and all three were different from Yazd and Kirman with their underground qanaats bringing water from far away. The greater permanence of the family ownership of the city land in Syria and Palestine led to a greater power of the urban aristocracy as seen in, among other things, the showy



monumental constructions of princes so typical of Iran.<sup>7</sup>

Early Islamic towns, with a few exceptions, did not have defensive walls, but in the 10th century city walls appear in a systematic manner, totally new ones, or, especially in very old cities, refurbished antique ones. The Bab or gate was the symbol of princely possession and gates were frequently decorated with sculptures.

In A.D. 754 Baghdad was built as a circular city, perhaps taking the ancient fortified cities of Assyria as models. The royal palace and mosque were in the middle in an open space where the princes' houses and kitchens were also found. Protection was provided by circular walls around which were ring roads leading to the homes of citizens. Four arcaded ways, with rooms for guards on either side, led to the main gates, which were approached from the city side through a courtyard. Over each of the gatehouses was a domed audience chamber which the ruler used when he appeared to the people. A further courtyard had side openings leading into a dry "moat" where troops could be assembled if there was danger of attack from outside. The moat was surrounded by another wall, outside of which was a ditch encircling the entire city. From the 12th century onward the sources deal with cities as such rather than with the men in the cities or with special restricted characteristics of cities. Excavations of actual or presumed towns have been carried out to reconstruct the



Islamic town in Fustat, in Siraf in southern Iran, and the Palace called Qosr al-Hayr in Syria, but the last two examples - and especially Qosr al-Hayr - are perhaps a little too remote from the main centers of Islamic power to be as useful as archaeological information should be.

According to Oleg Grabar:

"There are two additional aspects to archaeological and visual sources to define the bourgeoisie. One is the objects, in whatever technique, which can be assumed to have surrounded the bourgeoisie. Their investigation requires a large number of very different methods of analysis, from statistics to art history. The other aspect lies in images. Until the Ottoman period few maps, plans or images of cities were made, but a fascinating document about the bourgeoisie exists in the 13th century illustrations of Maqamat of al-Hariri - as yet not published in their entirety - which depict most of its activities".<sup>6</sup>

Grabar's main concern is to integrate the physical character of the city with the lives, activities and institutions of its suburban elite. Throughout, the emphasis is on the period between 800 and 1300 A.D., acknowledged to have been the heyday of an Islamic mercantile bourgeoisie, although on a number of occasions, information from later times will be used as well. Administrative offices became separated from formal living areas, and at least in the case of Baghdad, they were located along the inner wall of the town. Next to the formal imperial palace was the private palace, often called "qosr", a castle, inside the city. Fancy names were given to these establishments found in most capital cities: the



Palace of Crown, of the Pleiades, or of Eternity. Often surrounded by gardens they may not have been more than pleasure pavillions like the later Safavid and Ottoman ones in Isfahan or Istambul (ill. 6). The citadels are as ancient as towns or cities, yet they were relatively rare in Islamic times except in frontier areas. They began to proliferate in the 10th century and the earliest evidence known so far is, accidentally or not, from the northeastern frontiers of Islam. Palace, citadel, fortifications, gates, mosques, canals, and the square: such are the most obvious and most important aspects of the state's visibility in the city as characteristic forms of the Islamic world (ills. 7 and 8). An example about which more is known is the large open space found inside the city walls or at its edges. The square called "maydan" in Arabic, was used for military parades as well as for war council meetings. These are clearly princely activities; the maydan built by Ibn Tulun in his quarter near Fustat was within the city and has elaborate units with fancy gates that were used in specific ceremonies.♥

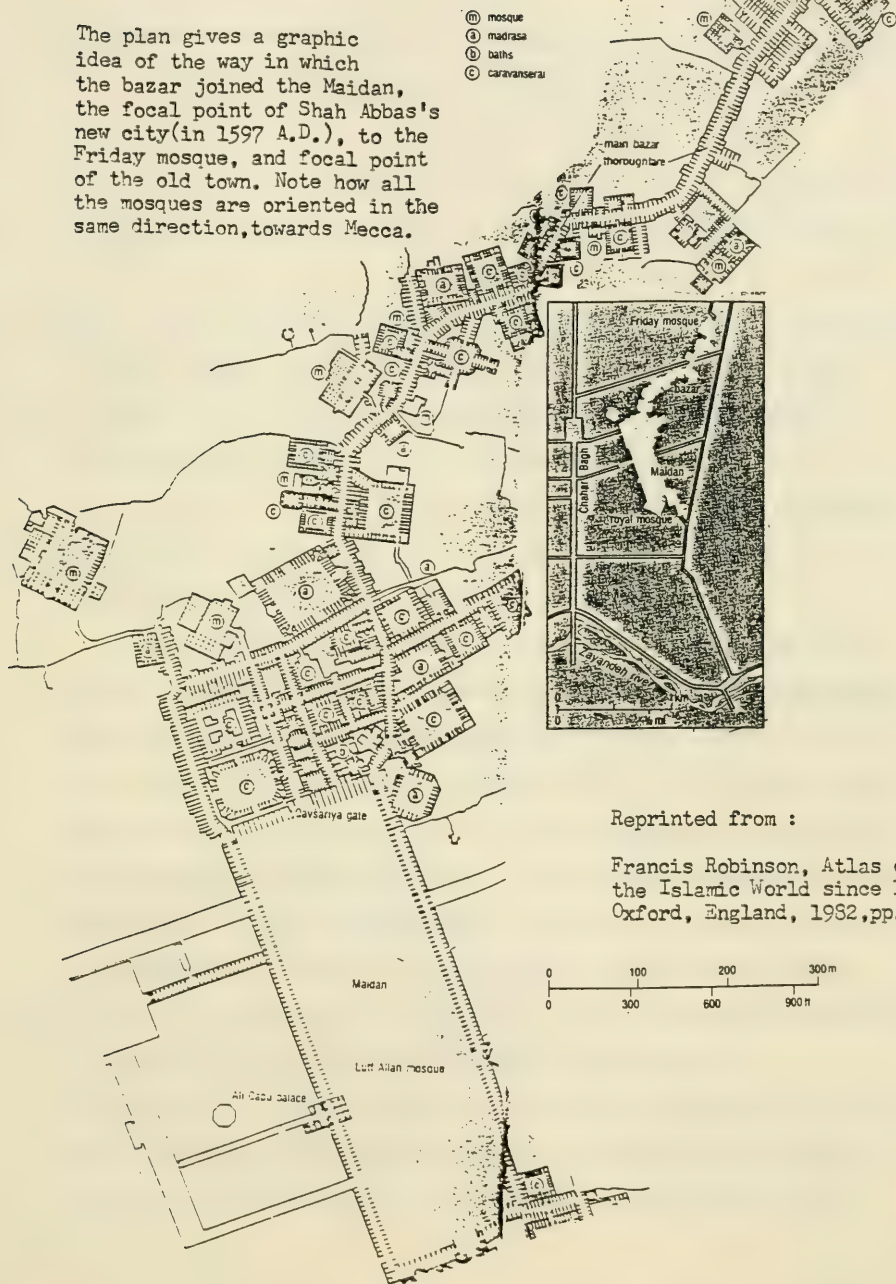
The feature which distinguishes Moslem palaces from those of non-Moslems, as it distinguishes the houses of ordinary Moslems from those of Europeans, is that they do not aim to present an imposing face to the outside world. Topkapi Sarai, the palace of the Ottoman sultans from the 15th century to the end of the 19th century, perfectly





Illustration no. 6-Isfahan : The Bazar

The plan gives a graphic idea of the way in which the bazar joined the Maidan, the focal point of Shah Abbas's new city (in 1597 A.D.), to the Friday mosque, and focal point of the old town. Note how all the mosques are oriented in the same direction, towards Mecca.



Reprinted from :

Francis Robinson, Atlas of  
the Islamic World since 1500  
Oxford, England, 1982, pp. 56-57



demonstrates the argument. The Topkapi Sarai is situated at the junction of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, at Seraglio Point. Its internal use of space is utterly distinct from that associated with European-style palaces. Instead such spatial units as pavilions, yards, gardens, audience halls, storerooms for treasure, baths, kitchens, and other necessary functions were built not according to an overall master plan, but rather ad hoc, where and when needed. Thus each unit has no necessary relationship to other parts, aside from the relations determined by practicality. Each separate entity is a separate monument, unified with the others only by their interrelated functions.

Nowhere is the synthesis between Islamic culture and Hindu India more clearly achieved than in Akbar's ceremonial capital, known as Fatehpur (Town of Victory) Sikri. Here light and airy structures, reminiscent of Moslem pavilions and tents, combine with the flat stone beams and massiveness of traditional Hindu buildings. Constructed between 1569 and 1583, the city was occupied by the court for only 14 years. It seems that Akbar in his enthusiasm to build his new capital on the hillock of the holy man, Shaikh Salim Chahiti, forgot to check whether the water supply would be sufficient. The red sandstone buildings which have survived for four centuries, almost perfectly preserved, are often called a city, although in fact they were no more than a





Illustration No.7 View of Kashan city in Iran, in early 18th century.

This picture is taken from : Islam and the Arab World, edited by Bernard Lewis, New York : Alfred A.Knopf, 1976, p.90. Based on a book of travels published in Amsterdam in 1711. Lewis mentioned the description as follows :

"Though not to be relied upon in detail, it gives a good impression of the walled town, closely packed with houses and dominated by the domes and minarets of the mosques. On the left is a large caravanserai. Kashan was one of the centres for Persian ceramics".

Illustration No.8

Islamic townscape : "a drawing after Nasuh al-Matraki's Itinerary ( 16th century ) showing the Turkish city of Bitlis."

The above description is also taken from :

Islam and the Arab world,  
edited by Bernard Lewis,  
New York: Alfred A.Knopf  
1976, p.89.







huge palace complex. The real town, which clustered around the foot of the hillock, has long since disappeared.

The natural accompaniment of such reliance of Hindus was the policy of religious toleration which Akbar adopted, as had other Moslem rulers of Hindu peoples before. Soon after his reign began he abolished first the tax on Hindu pilgrims, and then the "jizya", the tax levied by holy law on unbelievers in Moslem territory. He took steps to avoid giving offense to other faiths, replacing the Islamic lunar calendar with the solar calendar and forbidding Moslems to kill or eat the cow which the Hindu revered. Akbar's public religious tolerance was matched by a private religious eclecticism; it is this side of the great man which fascinated Westerners at the time and has done so ever since. Akbar's public policy was continued by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Architectures and city express even better than painting both the marriage of Islamic and Indian modes and the vaunting power of the empire (ills 9 and 10).<sup>10</sup>

So far as sound information extends in Asiatic and Oriental Settlements of an urban economic character, normally only extended families and professional associations were vehicles of communal actions. Communal action was not the product of the urban higher stratum as such. Transitions, of course, are fluid but precisely the largest settlements at times embracing hundreds of thousands or even millions of inhabitants display this very





phenomenon. In Constantinople, from the time of the Islamic growth and development until the sixteenth century, only merchants, corporations and guilds appear as representatives of the interests of the burghers beside purely military associations and religious organizations. However, in sixteenth-century Constantinople there is still no city representation.<sup>11</sup>

The evidence of these processes is not rich, and certainly not as rich as it is for the history of the great empires of the heartlands. Nevertheless, it is important that it should be studied, for here we witness the extraordinary capacity of Islam to adapt itself to different cultural circumstances and to express itself in forms so much more varied than those derived from the study of the central Islamic lands. We can also study how, at a time when Christians were beginning to place their impress on the continent of America, Moslems were coming to give an Islamic complexion to much of Africa and Southeast Asia.

## 2.2 Southeast Asian City

The Southeast Asian world of Asia represents one of the most remarkable extensions of the domain of Islam. It is remarkable for the size of its Moslem community, and it represents and offers a salutary lesson to historians and archaeologists of Islam in that it occurred during a period



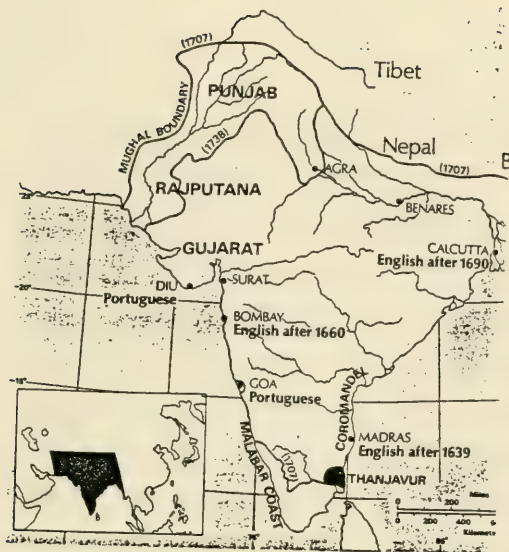


Illustration no. 9

-Mughal boundary in 1707

The map is taken from cartographic illustration by Noel L. Diaz, in Europe and the people without History, Edited by Eric R. Wolf, Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1982 p.242

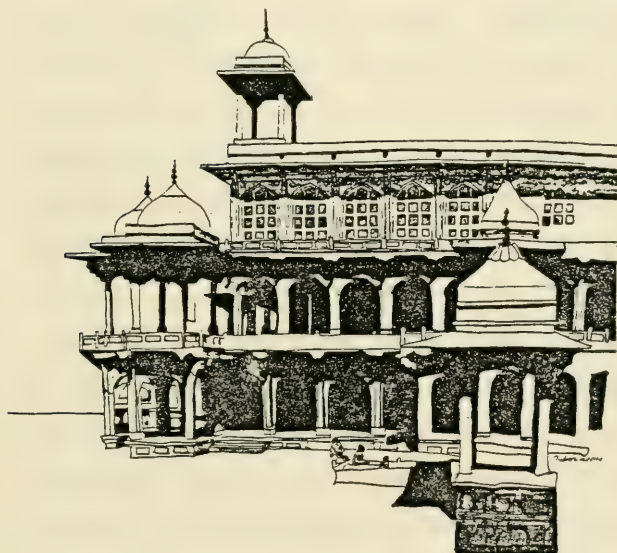


Illustration no. 10

Part of the Mausoleum of the Emperor Akbar, at Sikandra, India.

Reprinted from Jim Antoniou, Islamic cities and conservation, Geneva: UNESCO, 1981 p.38



(13th to 18th centuries) when Islam was expanding. Commerce had carried Islam to these lands. Moslem traders, making good use of the fortunate geographical position of the Islamic heartlands, came in the years before 1500 to control much of the international traffic along the trade routes of the world: the routes of the southern seas which linked the east coast of Africa, the Red sea and the Persian Gulf to the rich port of India, of Southeast Asia and of China; the routes across the Sahar, and especially from the wealthy cities of Maghrib, into the western Sudan and the Niger Basin; and the great Asian land route, the Old Silk route, from the eastern Mediterranean, through Iran, Turkestan, and along the Tarim Basin into China. It was Arab and Indian traders that carried Islam into Southeast Asia. The importance of this process, should not be over-estimated, however, because when trade declined, as it did in China, the Moslem foothold in the Confucian world came under threat.

Where, on the other hand, Islam had yet to penetrate, as in the east of the Indonesian archipelago, some traders continued to perform their pioneering role. When the term "Southeast Asia" first became popular, it was felt that it served to denote a rediscovered area of the world which, if not lost, had at least been overshadowed by the Indian subcontinent on the one hand and China on the other. But it brought with it the same danger implicit in the use of the



term "Asia". When Islam swept Southeast Asia in the 13th century, Islam was an urban religion entering already urban societies. This religion had an urban rationalism and it centered on the member "Ummah" or community.<sup>12</sup>

The information from Southeast Asia, as has been said, is relatively scarce. There was no great focus of Moslem power in which intellectual and material resources could be concentrated as to bestow rich artifacts on the present, while the tropical climate was always hostile to paper records and to wooden buildings. Indeed, it is often hard to know when facts end and speculation begins. Moreover, we have to try not to think of the area as a coherent region - after all, the concept was invented only in World War II - and we should be cautious of sweeping generalizations. Looking at all the evidence, Anthony Reid says:

"It is difficult to escape the conclusion that these Southeast Asian cities were really very populous by the modest standards of sixteenth century Europe, though not as large as the biggest Asian cities - Peking, Tokyo, Constantinople and Cairo. The numerous more or less accurate guesses as to the number of houses of people in the city by contemporary observers have to be compared with the physical size of the cities and what we know of rice imports to some of them."<sup>13</sup>

Southeast Asian cities were the major importers of foodstuffs, especially rices as mentioned above. The other large cities of the region must have had in excess of 50,000 people and perhaps as many as 100,000, making them larger as a proportion of total population than in pre-industrial





Europe. Because imported rice was available cheaply, cities such as Banten, Aceh, Malacca, and eventually Dutch Batavia (now Jakarta) did little to encourage rice production in their immediate hinterlands. In addition, there were rural areas in Moluccas, the west coast of Sumatra and Banten which imported rice in exchange for pepper, tin or gold which they could produce locally.<sup>14</sup>

In 1500, Moslems were established in many parts of the region (see map n.3). They dwelt in many trading communities down the Burmese coast, and especially in Arakan whose kings were subject to the Sultan of Bengal. There was a distinct community of Moslem Cams in Indo-China who had but recently been conquered by the Vietnamese. Moving south to the islands of Southeast Asia we find important Moslem states at the gateway to the archipelago: Pasai in northern Sumatra, which had been the first Moslems' southern shore, which in the 15th century had come to dominate the straits. From Malacca (ill. 11) they had gained a footing along the northerly trade route which ran by northwest Borneo to Sulu islands and the southern Philippines. They had also spread their influence down the southerly trade route which ran along Java's northern shore and southern Borneo till it reached the Moluccan spice islands of Ternate and Ambon. In some places the Moslems were still just a community of foreigners, in others they had brought natives and rulers to share in their beliefs. The Sunda Strait increased rapidly



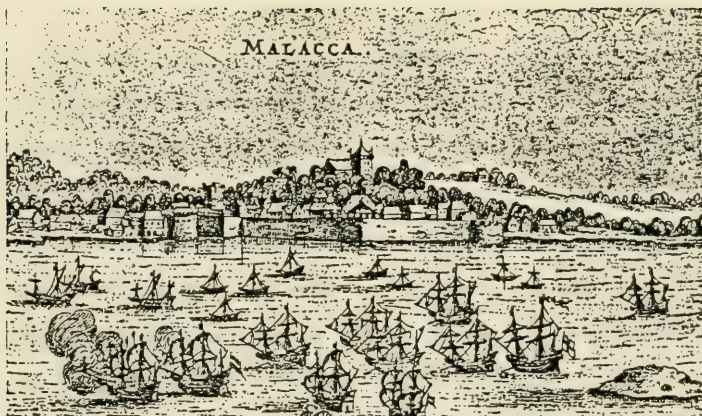


Illustration No. 11.

"De vloot van Matelieff tijdens de belegering van Malaka slaags met Portugeesche schepen. Augustus 1606" ("The fleet of Mateleff at the time of the conflict in Malacca between the Portuguese ships in August 1606") by Johan van der Woude in COEN Koopman van Heeren Zeventien (Coen, a merchant from the 17th century), Amsterdam, 1948 p.241, based on Geschiedenis van den Hollandschen handel in Indie (1598-1614).



Illustration No. 12.

The funeral of King (Sultan) Iskandar Thani in Aceh, 1641.  
Taken from Anthony Reid, Southeast Asian cities before Colonialism, Journal of Southeast Asian Study, 1985. He took from reproduce picture from Reysen van Nicholas de Graaf na Asia Africa Americaen Europa.



in importance during the early 1500's for several reasons. First, in 1511 the Portuguese in the name of Alphonso d'Albuquerque captured the emporium of Malacca, the most prosperous port in Southeast Asia. Many Moslem merchants of India and Southeast Asia thenceforth preferred to avoid Malacca and transferred their trade to other ports such as Aceh at Sumatra's northern end (ill. 12). From Aceh, they could enter Southeast Asia while avoiding the Portuguese by sailing along west Sumatra and through the Sunda Strait. Second, demand for pepper, and profits for those growing and dealing, increased as more and more Europeans joined the other merchants from western Asia and China already bidding for the crops. Pepper was not a product of the eastern islands; it could be grown successfully in many areas of Sumatra and the western part of Java. Foreign merchants were usually forbidden to trade directly in the west Sumatran ports; the right to do this was claimed as a royal monopoly by the Sultan Aceh.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the opportune access to the Indian Ocean and the potential pepper-growing areas, Banten's location allowed shippers to sail relatively unimpeded to the north between Balitung and Borneo (the Carimata Strait), on up to the area of Singapore and thence to Thailand, Vietnam, or straight to China. All long-distance shipping to the Moluccas from the south China sea before the seventeenth century also passed through the Java sea. Various ports of



north Java, at various periods of history, derived from this practice wealth and other benefits contingent upon their position as intermediaries in the spice trade.

Singapore was one of the important ports in the Malacca Strait as other sources indicate; the use of Singapore as a literary motif in the *Sejarah Melayu* may have been backed up by the memory of a period when Singapore actually functioned as a port of trade. In 1462 another Arabic source referred to Singapore. This is the oldest documented reference to the use of this name instead of Tamasik. When Tome Pires arrived on the scene, he referred to it as a kingdom which possessed little territory. Unfortunately, the Portuguese burned the place in 1613 as part of their continuing campaign against the descendants of Malacca Sultans.<sup>16</sup> We can not yet rediscover what the construction of the city was, or its layout. Some antique maps allow us to make comparisons with some cities in Southeast Asia during this period. These maps, such as the old map of the city of Siam-Ayuthay, the old capital of Siam, are very useful to help our attempt to create a definition of the city-type for Southeast Asia.

An analysis of contemporary urban maps help to convey the great size of Southeast Asian cities, and also the layout of different quarters (ills. 13 and 14). Like cities of the time elsewhere, Southeast Asian cities were made up of residential quarters defined in the first place by ethnic





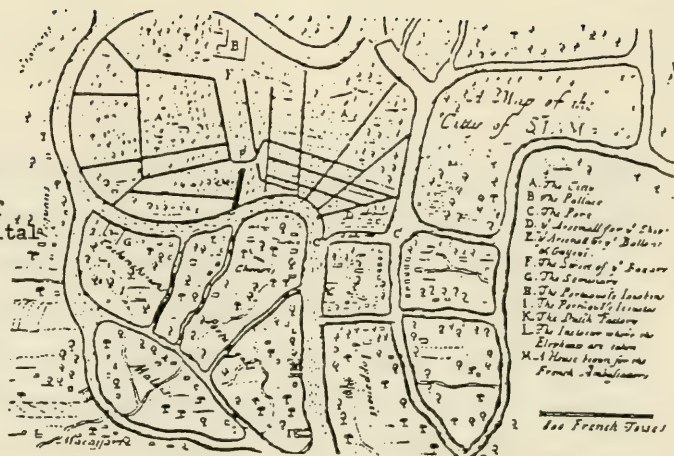
identity, and in the other by occupation. The maps can be analysed to give an impression of how many parts of the city were made up of many compounds of the great merchant-aristocrats, with many buildings, surrounded by fences. Other maps, such as that of the city of Makassar on the island of Celebes about 1638, show that on the port side of this city was the great bazaar or market (locally called "pasar"). The north side of this city was inhabited by Makassarese as well as by other nations. A new bazaar was built on the south side of this city, which was just as built-up and populated as the north side, but completely with houses of reed and wood. There was also a large river, which could be used by vessels, and the King's palace of departure. In the other parts are gardens and rice fields around the city, which were sited on low-lying, good land. This city was situated in the kingdom of Makassar. From the fort or enclosed area where the king and various other nobles have their courts and residences, surrounded with a brick wall, and on the sea side strengthened with four bastions, and landwards with strong points, tolerably well provided with guns. Because the walls are so broken-down that they would be unable to resist not only cannon, but even wooden rams, the greatest force is concentrated on the two seaward bulwarks, provided with about 15 guns.

The King's Palace stood on fine high posts in the form of pillars, on which a beautiful dwelling is erected, with a

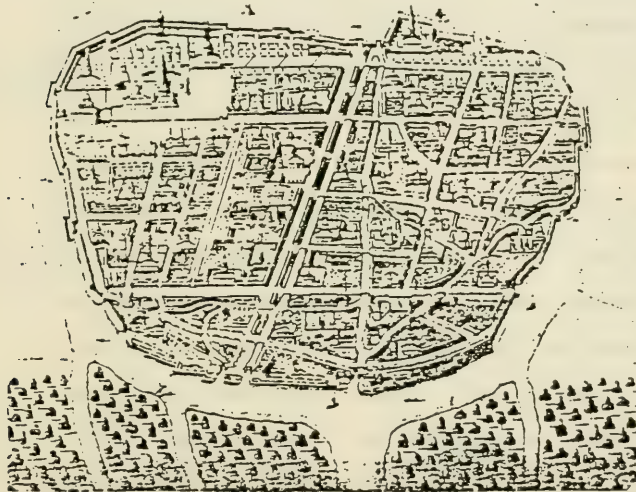


Illustration no. 13

The map of the city of Ayuthaya, the old capital of Siam.



A map of the city of Siam - Ayuthaya, the old capital of Siam, from Anthony Reid's interpretation to compare within human activities in the cities of Southeast Asia, the article of Southeast Asian Cities before colonialism, Journal of Southeast Asian studies, 1980, based from "A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, by Loubere, former French Ambassador to the country, published in translation in London in 1693 ( see also Sketch map/ Illustration no.14 ).

Illustration no. 14

Earlier  
Capital of Thailand

A seventeenth-century Dutch impressionistic map of Ayuthaya, earlier capital of Thailand ( Anthony Reid, Southeast Asian Cities before colonialism, Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 1980, p.149) by decision of A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, published in London in 1693.



wide and long bridge up to the entrance, so well constructed of wood that one can go up on horseback as well as on foot. From here we can see the King's storehouses. The King's Mosque is not far from his palace. This city was completed by the quarter of Portuguese, with the dwelling of Antonio da Costa, a Portuguese merchant who fled there for secret reasons. The other settlements were quarters of the Gujaratis, the lodge of the Danish Company, and Chinese quarters (ills. 15 and 16).<sup>17</sup>

Makassar replaced Aceh as the standard-bearer of Islam against the European interloper. This state of southwestern Celebes came late to Islam, and its chroniclers have left us with precise details. On 22 September 1605, the Prince of Tallo embraced Islam, and on 19 November 1607, the first Friday prayer was held. Foreigners noticed the conversion because pork became scarce; neighboring states also noticed it as they became the victims of the holy wars. From then on, the Makassarese, noted for their devotion to the faith, fought the Dutch as Christians and as their rivals for control of the spice trade. Their greatest leader was Hasan al-Din (reigned 1631-1670) whose empire at its height stretched from Borneo to New Guinea and from Lombok to the southern Philippines. Only after long and bitter fighting did he in 1667 accept Dutch terms which destroyed Makassar's dominance in the trade and politics of the region.<sup>18</sup>

The most significant centers of Southeast Asian human

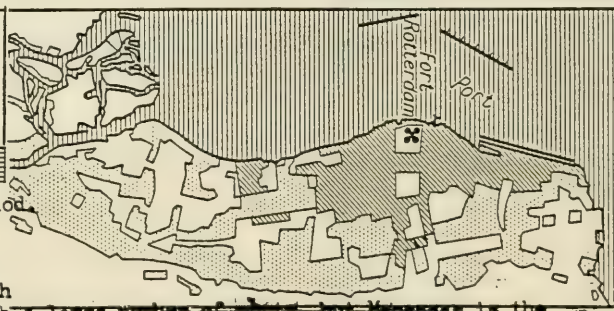
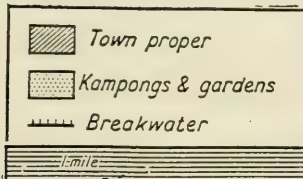
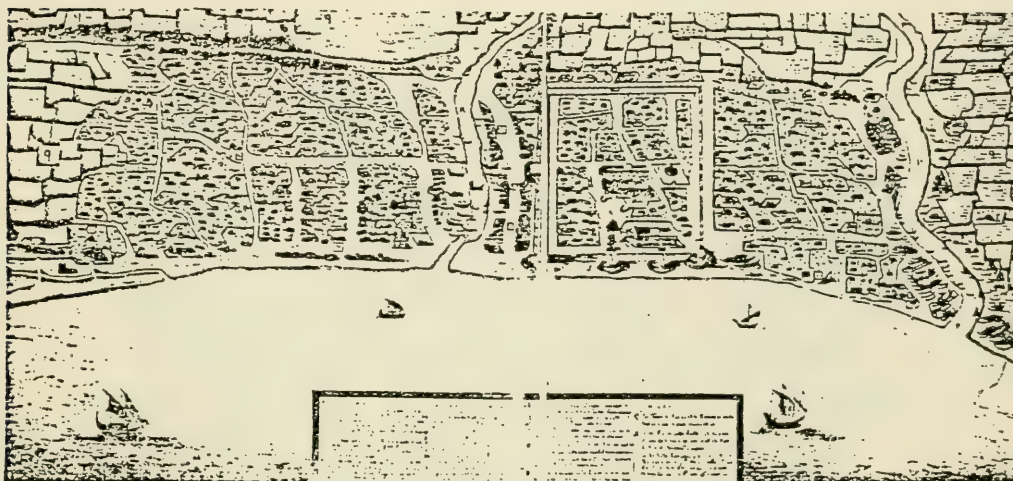




Illustration no. 15

The city of Makassar, in 1638.

The physical description of this map of the city of Makassar on the island of Celebes about 1638, that in the part side of this city was the great bazar or market. The layout of the north side of this city, inhabited by Makassarese as well as by other nations. The river can be seen which used by vessels, and of the king's place of departure. Here in this map we also see the canal, the palace and fortress which can be analysed to give an impression of how many parts of the city were made up many compounds of the great merchant-aristocrats, with many buildings, surrounded by fences. This map is taken from a magnificent collection of coloured maps known collectively by decision of The Secret Atlas of the East India Company, drawn in 1670. The artists obviously had access to some rough sketches and descriptions of the town. ( taken from Southeast Asian Cities before colonialism, Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 1980 p. 144 ).

Illustration no. 16

Makassar during the colonial period.

This sketch map is drawn by Charles Robequain. He describes during the colonial period in 19th century, that trade passes through a large number of ports, but Makassar is the only one provided with modern equipment and is by far the busiest.

Charles Robequain (translated by E.D.Laborde), Malay, Indonesia, and the Philippines (London: Longmans Co. LTD 1958) p.235.





activities were the ruler, the palace, the market, and the city. While all of these were significant to all peoples, we may argue that, comparatively, the most significant center was the ruler (called Raja) for the Malays, the palace (keraton) for the Javanese, and the city with its market (muang or myo) for Thai and Burmans. Regarding the traditional Malay, Javanese, Thai Burmans, O'Connor observes:

"The traditional Malay state was the Ke-raja-an (kingdom), a word that means teh state or condition of having a raja (king). Indeed, without the presence of a raja it is hard to imagine a settlement being a city called kota or bandar. The traditional Javanese Polity centered on the keraton (palace). Palace, capital, and kingdom went by a single name, and the whole of society was organized in three concentric circles around the keraton. The city was nothing more than assemblages of villages with the palace in the centre. Both Thai and Burmans have several words for city or town that bore no inherent relationship to the ruler or his palace. Cities were basic social units, the polity's very building blocks. Moreover, both the Thai and Burmans adapted to their urban predecessors on the mainland. The Keraton also appear to have been the highest pre-Indic Javanese social centre of urban life. By the same token the Javanese who had a palace instead of a city built a wall around the palace and left the city open until the sixteenth century when European influence changed warfare and so encouraged the building of walls".<sup>17</sup>

That is to say, that for Malays the ruler and the city were disaggregated. Wherever the ruler was, there was the focus of the state. For Javanese, however, the palace and its associated institutions were the central focus of the state; the ruler himself was almost incidental. For Thai and Burmese, on the other hand, it was the city itself, its



buildings, its people, and its markets that were important, and neither ruler nor palace were necessary for a complete city.

The other sources, such as Anuman,<sup>20</sup> suggest that the traditional "muang" had a wall or a moat and earthworks. Both Sukothai and Ayuthaya had walls. The Burmese Glass Palace Chronicle refers to the seven things for a city and goes on to list gates, moats, ditches, towers, wall turrets, and so on. The burmese town and later district, originally meant a brick or stone building. On the other had, the Thai and Burmans, who actually had cities, also had city walls.

Religious power in Southeast Asia was drawn into the city, physically when possible and ritually when forest ascetics or sacred mountains stayed outside. Apparently the Mon centralized power through a wholesale transplantation of district cults and relics to the capital. This made the Mon capital a microcosm of the realm while it stripped power from those they had conquered as Burmans would later strip it from them. In pre-Khmer cities the cosmic mountain was outside of the city boundary wall, but the later Khmer built temple mountains in the city center. Eventually the "deva raja" cult ritually linked the newly sacred king to the long sacred Mt. Mahendra far outside the city. In early Java mountain shrines and temple mountains on the plains stood apart from the cities although the ruling dynasty's name, "king of the mountain" (Sailendra), drew a ritual bridge



between them. Later, Islamic mountain graves kept sanctity outside of the city while holy relics (pusaka) centralized other sacred powers in the palace. When the Siamese Thai know a similar rise in power, sanctity moved into the city. The Buddha relic, the head of the monkhood and the leader of the highly revered forest monks all moved into the city, while especially sacred Buddha images came to the capital from the provincial towns and conquered cities.<sup>21</sup>

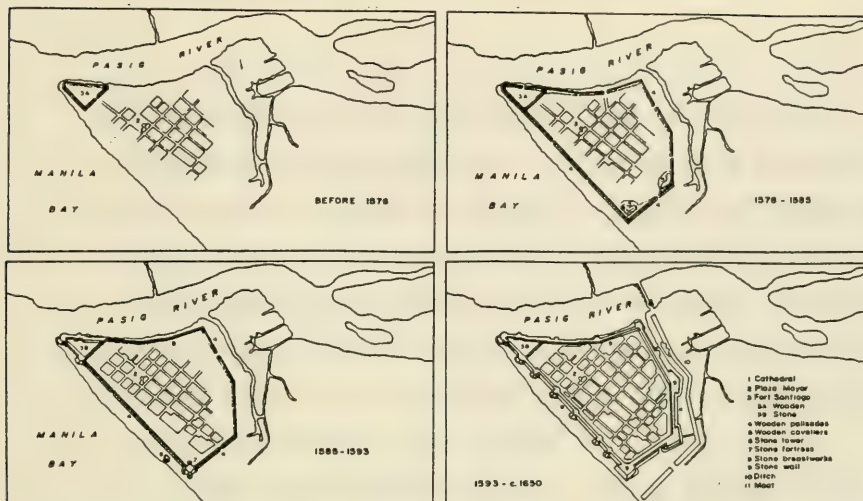
On the mainland there were many walled cities although they were not necessarily bastions. There were walled enclosures in northeastern and central Thailand from the seventh century. Of course, one could argue that Thai and Burman cities had only royalty, and hence might be better called "palaces", but linguistic evidence suggests they were seen as cities. Moreover, as far back as the mid-ninth century, a Chinese account of the Pyu kingdom says that "the common people all live within the city-wall...".<sup>22</sup>

Colonial historiography has made the great colonial cities, such as Batavia, Manila (ills. 17 and 18), and Singapore much better known than their indigenous predecessors as commercial entrepôts.<sup>23</sup> Colonialism changed Southeast Asian cities profoundly, however, behind these changes were much deeper continuities. Immigration, pluralism, the primate city, and an ethnic division of labour were not new to indigenous urbanism.



# Illustration no. 17

Early development of Intramuros, Philippines.



## MANILA c. 1670



Reprinted from Dilip K. Basu, The Rise and Growth of the colonial port cities in Asia, California, 1985, p.203 (also illustration no.18 in p.204) which cited from Cummins, J.S., in The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete, 1618-1686, Vol.I. Cambridge, 1962

## Illustration no. 18

The city of Manila c.1670





Colonial cities merely magnified these long-standing patterns and perpetuated them. Whatever else changed, the city remained the center of wealth, power, and prestige. As in the past, this urban-centered social hierarchy was based on the order of the outside "civilized" world. Whether the West ruled in fact or only in eminence, the overall effect was the same: things Western carried great prestige and gave the social hierarchy new symbols

Colonialism brought a major jump in urbanization defined as the centralization of power in the city. While the Indic center had always asserted its total power over everyone and everything, the closer one came to the physical and social peripheries of the realm, the less it had the strength of inclination to enforce its order. In contrast, The colonial state had the administrative tools to reach to the edges of the realm and more impetus to use them. It sent its own officials out into the provinces to assert central control and undermine local patriarchal authority. Sometimes even Western misperceptions added to the center's power. In preserving Javanese Regencies, the Dutch strictly applied Western notions of law and descent to the much more open Javanese practices of succession.

Traditionally, the eighteenth century has merely been a sequel to the seventeenth in the series of governor-generalships continuing up to the fall of the Dutch Republic



in 1795 (ills. 19 and 20).<sup>24</sup> After that, the periodization according to the many transformations in the political system in the motherland (the Batavian Republic, with successively, its directory, its state government, and its council-pensionary; the Kingdom of Holland; the departments annexed to the French Empire) and consequently in the Indies, transformations finally ending in the restored the authority of the sovereign prince, later king of the Netherlands. Thus, Southeast Asian history is fitted into the framework of eighteenth-century European cultural history.

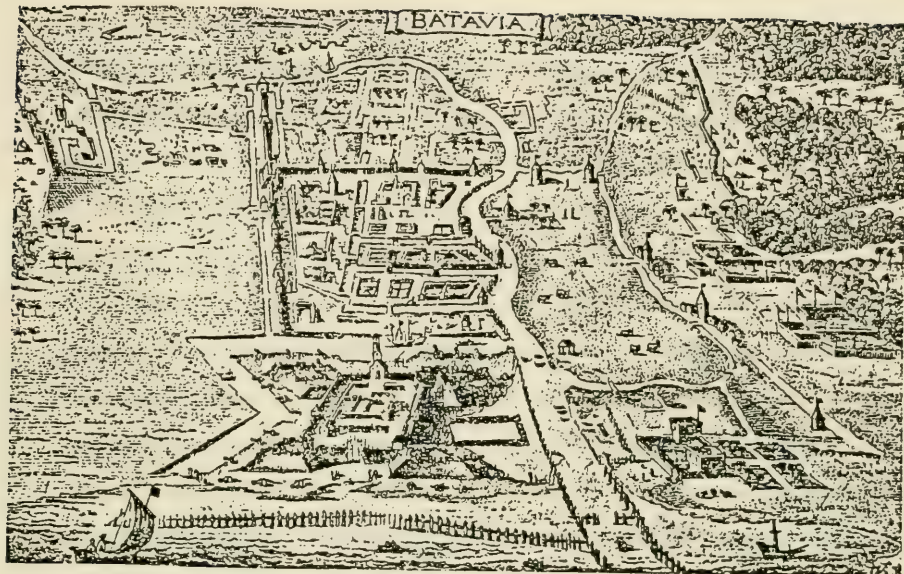
Furthermore, Indonesian history, as the last quotation witnesses, has been fitted into the framework of the history of the Dutch East India Company. Van Leur<sup>25</sup> has already indicated regarding the seventeenth century that the history of Indonesia definitely cannot be made equivalent to the history of the company; he writes as follows:

"That is incorrect to make a break in describing the course of history upon arrival of the first scattered seafarers, merchants, and privateers from northwest Europe and change over the point of view of the small, oppressed European fortress, the stuffy trading-house, and the armed ship riding at anchor. The theme needs to be taken up again, this time for the eighteenth century".<sup>26</sup>

One should call to mind the picture of the over-all political situation in eastern and southeastern Asia during the eighteenth century - and of the position of the Company and other European powers there. Its suppression, and the



Illustration no. 19  
BATAVIA : 1629



The Colonial City of Batavia during the seventeenth century.

Reprinted from :  
 Bernard H.M. Vlekke,  
Nusantara, A History  
of the East Indian  
Archipelago, Massachusetts  
 Harvard Univ. Press, 1944  
 p.144 ( cited from:  
 Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw  
 Oost Indien 1724-26 ),  
 see also Illustration  
 no.20 ( reprinted from  
 Bernard H.M. Vlekke, 1944  
 p.177 ).

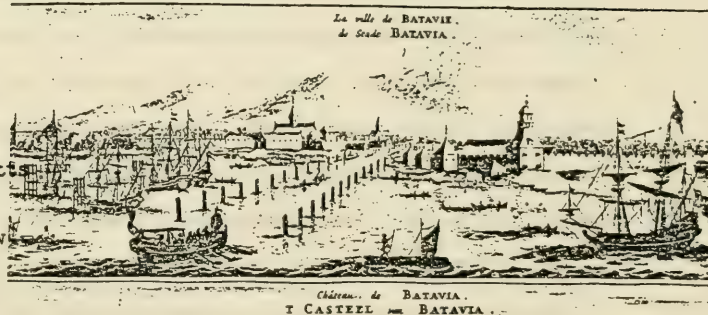


Illustration no.20

Batavia during the  
 Eighteenth Century.







invasion by the Dutch and British, until the removal of the center of the Banten Sultanate to the city of Serang (about 10 km south of Banten) as a regency and residency city. Banten was finally placed under direct control of the colonial government which was centralized in Batavia (now Jakarta) led by a Governor General.

Several models can be used to characterize a general city-type of the Islamic world and the non-Islamic cities of Southeast Asia. First, expressed in Arabia and later developed throughout Moslem cities of West Asian, early Islamic towns, with a few exceptions, did not have defensive walls, but after the 9th century, walls appear in a systematic manner. We can say that palace, citadel, fortifications, mosques, gates, market and square, are the most obvious and most important aspects of the state's visibility in the city as characteristic forms of Islamic world. We look to Moslem India for the synthesis between Islamic culture and Hindu India which was clearly achieved. The capital, with light and airy structures reminiscent of Moslem pavilions and tents, combined with flat stone beams and massiveness of traditional Hindu buildings. The natural accompaniment of such reliance on Hindus was due to the policy of religious toleration adopted by the Moslem rulers of Hindu people. The Moslems took steps to avoid giving offense to other faiths, replacing the Islamic lunar calendar with the solar calendar and forbidding Moslems to





kill or to eat the cow which the Hindus revered. Architecture and cities of Islam in India express even better than painting the marriage of Islam and Indian modes.

Second, as Islam and Buddhism swept Southeast Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Islam preserved this fusion only by denying the municipal institutions that might have led to their separation. Buddhism supported sacral kingship and Islam made the Sultan "Allah's shadow on the earth".

Both religions made the ruler the protector of the faith. The Thai, linguistically classified their king as a sacred object (ong) along with monks and the Buddha. Similarly, when the head of the forest monks lived in the city and the most sacred Buddha image was in the king's temple in his palace in the inner city of the capital, the Siamese Thai fusion of religious, royal, and urban symbols was nearly complete, so some tension was irreducible. The Javanese court city of Cirebon shows how this tension and fusion are balanced in Islam today. While the most sacred place is the grave of an Islamic saint on a hill outside of the city, it is surrounded on the six lower levels by the graves of the Sultans of Cirebon and their families. Commoners can go only to the next lower level.<sup>27</sup> In all of these ways Islam and Buddhism gave new life to the old urban hierarchy, and yet the way they extended urban dominance the most was simply by narrowing the ruler's power.<sup>28</sup>



The characterization of the city-type of Southeast Asia, especially port cities, relates to two techniques of separation of the qualities: first, that the harbour and the market places were places for trade activities, and second, that the temple or mosque, the palace and square were for the ruler, military, and spiritual energies. The river is one of the important things which can be used by vessels. Most of the Southeast Asian cities have their courts, canals, quarters, and markets surrounded with a city-wall. In many Islamic cities in Southeast Asia, the king's mosque is not far from his palace. The cities were completed by the foreign quarters. In literature too, the maritime cities gave rise to a great creative outburst, adapting Indian, Persian, and Arabic writing to new purposes. In many cities, Portuguese took on a similar role as the medium through which European ideas were conveyed to the city of the region.

### 2.3 The Islamic City of Banten

Historical periods in Indonesia differ from those of the West, primarily in that they are not categorized according to Western concepts of before and after Christ, but rather can be arranged into periods of prehistory, protohistory and history. Prehistory, protohistory and history can all be defined based upon our data for the forms



of literary evidence we have found in Banten. Prehistory is defined by the absence of the written word, while history is defined by its presence.

In Banten, the historical period now begins in the fifth century A.D. with the appearance of local stone inscriptions. Protohistory can be classified as the time period after prehistory leading into history, which in Banten is presently dated as the years between the second and the fifth centuries A.D.<sup>29</sup> Our information about the protohistory comes not from local sources, but from Chinese chronicles. It is important to note, however, that these classifications are by no means absolute, but are just products of the data presently available. Pending further research, the dating of Bantenese time periods could be pushed even further back.

Historical periods in Banten also differ in that the history of Banten cannot be divided into absolute time frames but rather into historical types, based on sources, site-type, tool types, and cultural practice. This is because of the problems in dating Bantenese material.

The major problem in dating Bantanese materials is the lack of provenience data; there are many artifacts which have not been dated with carbon-14 or which cannot be fitted into a time frame because of a lack of stratigraphy. Another problem is that styles for much of the material seem to persist through several



phases: tool types and cultural practices that may have been prevalent in the neolithic or Hindu periods are still found today and thus are difficult to fit into a specific time frame. Each tradition builds upon the preceding one, and thus the distinctions between historical types are gradual rather than sudden and absolute.

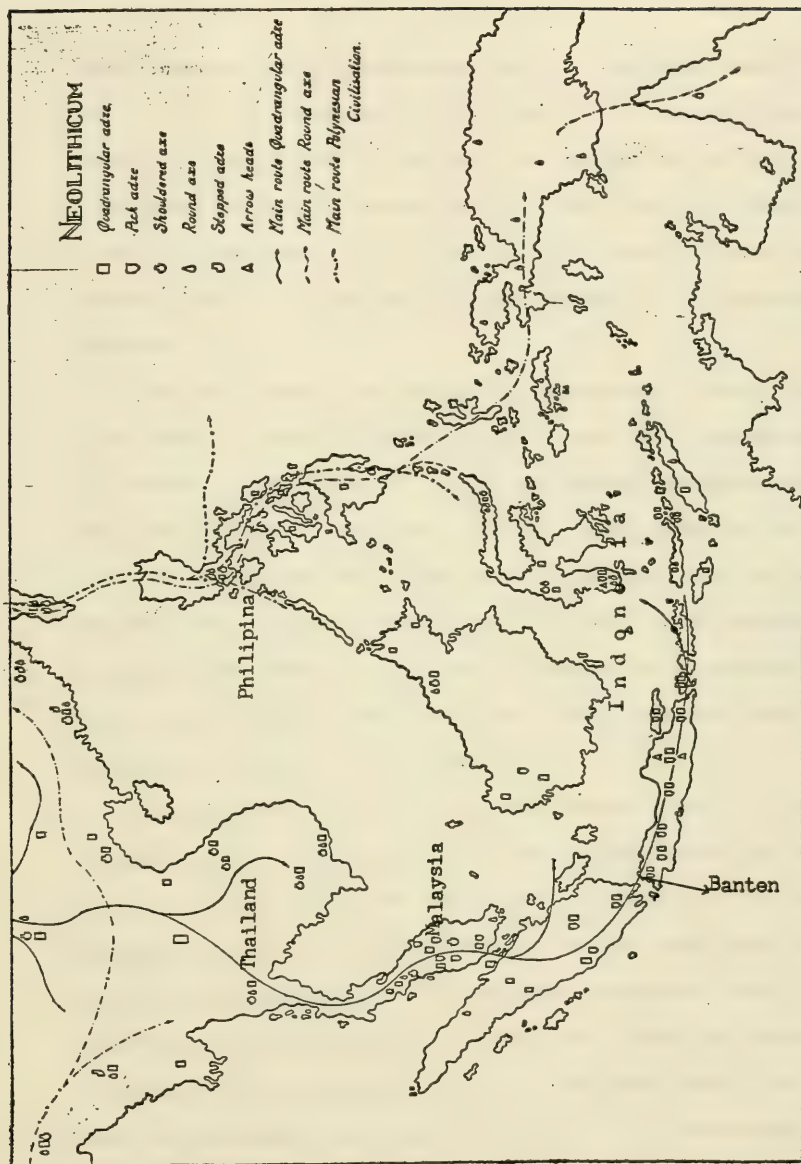
Many artifacts of prehistoric style were found on the bank of the Cibanten river one kilometer south of Kaibon Palace, one of the neolithic type sites in old Banten which might preserve remains of the first human activities and first settlement in old Banten. Prehistoric settlers were therefore established at Banten at some indefinite period (ill. 21). Archaeologists have tended to pay relatively little attention to these objects, as many classical monuments and sites have been found in the Banten area, especially dating from the 7th-9th centuries (during the Hindu-Buddhist periods), which include numerous statues of different kinds of materials, such as the granite "nandi" found at Karangantu Harbour, and the "siva" and "ganesha" found at Panaitan Island (the nandi has been taken and displayed at the Site Museum of Old Banten; the siva is at the West Java provincial Museum, while the ganesha is still on the site of Panaitan). Many other stone statues are still found in situ like the "durga" at Padarincang, 15 kilometers to the south of Serang city. According to tradition, there were many candi (temples) in Banten,





Illustration no. 21.

Neolithic migration routes.



The neolithic type sites which have been found in Banten might preserve remains of the first human activities and first settlement in Old Banten.

The map is copied from the book of The Stone Age of Indonesia by H.R. Van Heekeren, Martinus Nijhoff, 1957 page : 122.



remains of which if discovered would provide evidence of early Indian influence in this area. There are a number of important habitation sites such as Banten Girang (3 kilometers south of Serang) and Kampung Muara in the district Ciaruteun Kilir which provide useful data for the reconstruction of the Hindu-Buddhist period of Bantenese culture.

The next important period in Bantenese history about which much is known has been named after the kingdom of Pajajaran. Inscriptions in the Sundanese language mention that the "keraton" (palace) of the kingdom was built in 1333 A.D. The ruins of the Keraton are located south of Bogor, between the Cisadane and Ciliwung rivers. The surrounding coastal areas were also ports of Pajajaran's kingdom; Sunda Kalap (now Jakarta) and Karangantu (Old Banten) were the important harbours of Pajajaran.<sup>30</sup>

A glance at a map of sailing routes quickly illustrates the potentially strategic value of a settlement at Banten. Those who control Banten are in a good position to regulate shipping through the Sunda Strait between Java and Sumatra. Historians disagree among themselves regarding the importance of this strait in the past; there are some indications that vessels traveling between India and the seas of Southeast Asia may have used it in preference to the Strait of Malacca by 1000 A.D. However, the weather and waters along Sumatra's west coast create difficult and



dangerous conditions for sailing, and it seems that during most of history, sailors have preferred to navigate between Sumatra and the Malay peninsula. The Malay kingdoms, built along the rivers of east Sumatra were often sufficiently well-organized that they were able to convince the seafaring groups dwelling among the mangroves along the Straits of Malacca to subordinate their own interests to those of the Malay emporia.

Tome Pires<sup>31</sup> wrote a lengthy description of conditions in Indonesia about 1514. Based on his own observations, Pires reported that the route along the west coast of Sumatra and through the Sunda Strait had indeed been important until the beginning of the previous century, i.e. around A.D. 1400. Archaeologists have only discovered remains of one important port site along the west coast of Sumatra, Barus, which is also mentioned in Arabic sources as early as the ninth century.

Banten Lama means "Old Banten". The first Europeans to establish regular communications with Old Banten were the Portuguese, who wrote Banten as Bantam; the Dutch and English subsequently copied this spelling.

The archaeological site of Old Banten lies near the northwest corner of Java. A Traveller who visited the city in 1694, Francois Valentijn, recorded a valuable description of how old Banten then appeared. We will refer to Valentijn's remarks several times in the following



narrative; here we will first note his observations regarding the Islamic city's general location:

"(Banten) is one of the oldest and, of oldest the most famous cities, not only of java, but even of all the East...It is a city where from old times a great commerce and traffic of very many Eastern and Western people have taken place, who came not only because of pepper there available in the countries under the Bantam crown but also and primarily because of the commerce in cloves and nutmegs which they themselves as well as other people from Java went to bring from Ternate and Handa, which for Bantam was the staple, and because of the city which was exceedingly prosperous...It lies in the middles of a great bay, from east to west six miles wide, and four miles deep from the Long Island lying opposite the city. To the west of the same but southward of it, six more islands with some shoals, and near the city, barely a mile from it, in the west, yet another island, Hollands Kerkhof, and two long miles to the east two others, named the two Islands, which together so shelter the great number of ships, which can anchor at two or three fathoms in good ground, and can remain there very safely. The city itself lies in a lowland, at the foot of rugged mountains which extend very far inland and provide a very pleasant sight of the city, and especially of the Road...On either side of the city is a river. They flow into the sea about a mile apart. Between them flows another, the widest though not very deep, and which is usable by small and flat-bottomed vessels, which are generally but lashed bamboos".<sup>32</sup>

The history of the Islamic city of Banten comprises chronology and such subjects as ancient economics, human relationships and the nature of ancient international diplomacy and policies of the realm.

### 2.3.1 Geography of Old Banten

Old Banten is situated at the mouth of the Banten river





which discharges itself on the north of Java into the sea, about 10 kilometers to the north of Serang city. Old Banten belongs to Serang Regency (ill. 22).

Plains with relatively little rainfall and poor quaternary soil extend all around the bay of Banten up to Pontang district (located about 15 kilometers east of Old Banten). In the area where rivers discharge themselves into the sea there is much sediment which causes the coastline to move more and more northwards with a growth of about four meters a year. It is less than five meters above sea level, and the rainfall is about 1500 milimeters a year. Due to the poor condition of the soil it is used mainly for coconut farming and fish ponds.<sup>33</sup>

Old Banten stands on sedimentary soil deposited in geologically recent times (during the last two million years). Nevertheless, unlike many alluvial soils it is not very fertile. It is flat and low-lying, but little of it is used for growing irrigated rice. Instead, the agricultural population today cultivates dry rice (once a year). The density of the modern population ranges between about 200 to 500 people per square kilometer. This infertile soil is confined to a strip parallel to the shore. Approximately 2 km south from the site, the soil changes to a type more favorable to cultivation. Perhaps this contrast in fertility is connected with proximity to the ocean, which may contribute to a higher salinity in its vicinity. The







soil further inland has been formed by the same process of evolution as the coastal strip, that is, a gradual deposition of waterborne sediment. The fertile soil of this inland plain is narrow in the west, where it is restricted between two uplands, but becomes broad toward the east. Rice is cultivated intensively here during the rainy season, but during the dry months secondary crops are grown, such as soy beans. This greater fertility is correlated with a higher population density of 500 to 600 people per square kilometer. Rainfall is slightly greater, averaging between 1,500 mm and 2000 mm annually (ills. 23,24,25 and 26).

Just west of Banten Bay rises an isolated mass of hills with three peaks, called gunung Salak, gunung Gede, and gunung Batur, the highest gunung or mount reaching 595 m. These are composed of old (tertiary) as well as recent sediments, and are also fertile. Their slopes are utilized as plots for long-term crops such as cloves and coffee. Despite the roughness of the terrain, a dense population of 600-800 per square kilometer support themselves there.<sup>34</sup>

Southwest of Banten, and clearly visible from a boat in the bay stand higher mountains, including recently-active volcanoes with peaks up to 2,000 m. As in much of Indonesia, higher elevation means greater rainfall. These mountains are exceedingly well-watered, with average annual precipitation varying between 2,000 mm and 3,500 mm. Their slopes are also frequently cultivated, with pockets of wet



	MONTHLY RAIN-FALL (mm.)		DAILY RAIN	
	1982	1983	1982	1983
Jan.	443	224	29	18
Feb.	136	171	19	13
Mar.	159	135	18	12
Apr.	135	276	22	11
May	89	53	13	12
June	24	44	13	6
July	41	101	8	5
Aug.	7	15	7	3
Sept.	-	3	-	2
Oct.	4	137	4	14
Nov.	92	243	13	18
Dec.	112	120	18	15

Illustration no.23

-Monthly Rain-fall  
of Serang Regency

Source :  
Badan Meteorologi  
dan Geofisika  
Stasiun Meteorologi  
Serang, 1984

Illustration no.24

The damness of  
Weather in Serang  
Regency

Source :  
Erwina Darmayanti,  
Perancangan Lansekap  
Keraton Surosowan  
Sebagai Objek Wisata  
Banten Lama, Jakarta:  
Universitas Trisakti,  
1985, p.38

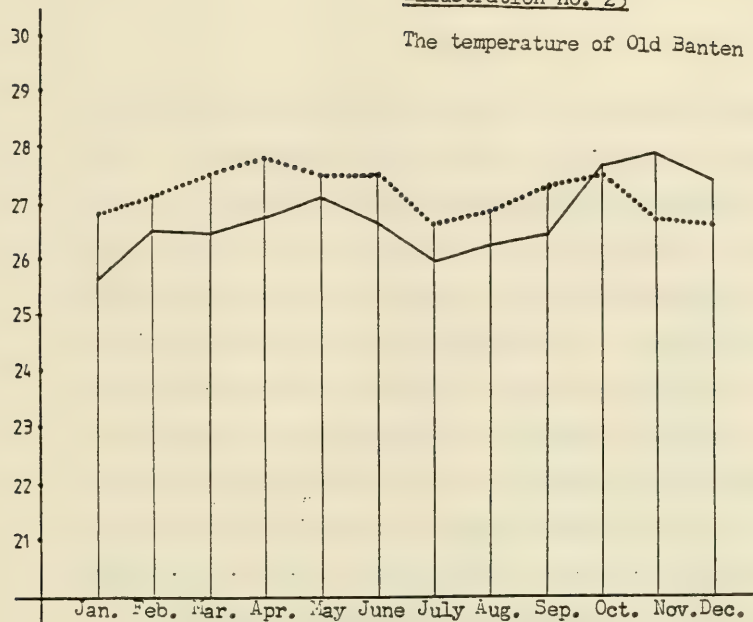




°C

Illustration no. 25

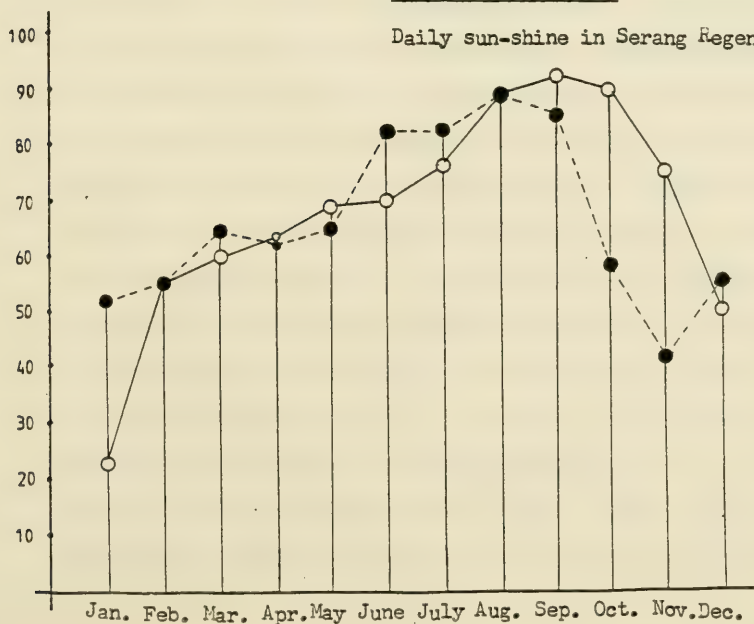
The temperature of Old Banten



%

Illustration no. 26

Daily sun-shine in Serang Regency





rice interspersed with gardens of coffee, cloves and other crops. The sites of excavation activities are Banten Girang (which is about 3 km south of Serang city) and Old Banten. Both sites are in the region of Serang Regency. The site of Banten Girang is in the valley and at the foot of the hill whereas Old Banten is on the seashore. The differences in natural environment have also been the cause of different influences on the inhabitants of these two places. Banten river which encircles the site of Banten Girang proved to be a good natural protection, and was also used once as a communication route between the interior and the coast.

Old Banten consisted of open plains. It was chosen as a center of the realm not so much for its agrarian but rather for its maritime potentialities. The problems of infertility and lack of water were overcome by the royal administrators with the construction of irrigation works and the opening of rice fields in the south. The need for fresh water was filled by the construction of a water reservoir at the artificial lake called Tasikardi, situated about 1.5 km from the Royal palace. The archaeological evidence for this purpose are terracotta pipes constructed to channel the water into the water-basin at the Palace. There are two brick structures along this pipeline, which according to local tradition were called panqindelan. This term is derived from the Javanese word indel, meaning sediment. Thus it is possible that they were used as some sort of



filtration or settling tanks. Another possibility however is that they had some connection with assisting the flow of water from Tasikardi, since the gradient from there to the water's destination in the palace is very gentle. No special research has yet been performed to settle this question; for the moment, the function of the brick building called pagindelan must remain a mystery.

The word Banten means Wahanten or river, but according to tradition it means "katiban inten" (to have a diamond-fall). Francois Valentijn asserted that the name "Banten" in Javanese means a place which has or possessed everthing or where nothing is lacking, so that word was the origin of the word "Antam", that was being in existence, having in itself.<sup>35</sup>

Surveys in Banten, especially in the area of the fish-ponds around the harbour of Karangantu started with geographical data collecting, showed that the soil consists of alluvial sediments of greyish clay. Soil from other locations (in Banten) present reddish-brown latosol of very sticky clayish texture. There are two possible sources for the different types of soil, the slopes of the mount Gede and the mountainous areas south of Serang city.<sup>36</sup>

### 2.3.2. The pre-Islamic Sundanese Period

The earliest manifestations of Hinduism and Buddhism



probably came to Banten straight from their native country, India. The Indian influence in Banten was part of the general spread of Indian culture throughout the countries to the east and southeast of the Indian subcontinent, which started around the first century A.D.<sup>37</sup> The influence of Indian civilization on Java was profound, so much so that a large part of Banten's early history called Hindu-Sundanese history. Although the Hindu period was followed by a period of Islamic expansion and later European colonization, changing the whole Javanese picture fundamentally, the impressive stone-pyramid remains of Lebak Sipedug, and many statues such as Siva and Ganesha at Panaitan island (near Krakatau) still standing as Banten monuments of the past, can be studied, giving clues as to the Hindu-Buddhist period in West Java. But most importantly, although the great monuments of Indo-Javanese architecture are found in Central Java, it is the west of the island that is mentioned in the earliest documents testifying to Indian influence, the Chinese chronicles and European narratives.

The earliest of these sources in 132 A.D. mentions Yektiaow which has been explained as a Chinese transcription of "Javadwipa" and the name of Tiao-pien which is also found in the chronicles, has been found to be a transcription of the Sanskrit name of "Devavarman".<sup>38</sup> The sources also explain that Ujung Kulon was under the responsibility of Bahadura Jayasakti, the part of Devavarman's area.<sup>39</sup> The kingdom of





Tarumanagara belongs approximately to the fifth century. After King Purnawarman's inscriptions - of a strikingly classical Hinduistic character, there is no more epigraphical evidence of this kingdom. Probably, like Mulavarman's kingdom in east Borneo, it became a victim of the expanding maritime empire of Sriwijaya. However, here in West Java, Tarumanagara was probably conquered or at least it was under the firm control of Sriwijaya for several hundred years (ill. 27).<sup>40</sup>

At the mouth of Ciliwung river was Pajajaran's harbour called Sunda kalapa at the same place which was later called Jayakarta. The geographical situation of West Java, between the powerful maritime empire of Sriwijaya to the west and successive agrarian Hindu-Javanese keratons to the east, was a drawback for the existence and an eventual expansion of a Hindu-Sundanese keraton.<sup>41</sup>

A number of inscriptions in old Sundanese dating from the fifteenth century have been found, including one from Tasikmalaya dated A.D. 1411, and five from Cirebon which mention a kingdom called Kawali.<sup>42</sup> Possibly these were not really separate kingdoms, but only one in which the location of the palace was frequently moved, perhaps as a result of the conditions imposed by the tradition of shifting cultivation of dry land rice. The grandfather of the founder of Pakuan Pajajaran may have had his palace at Kawali.<sup>43</sup>

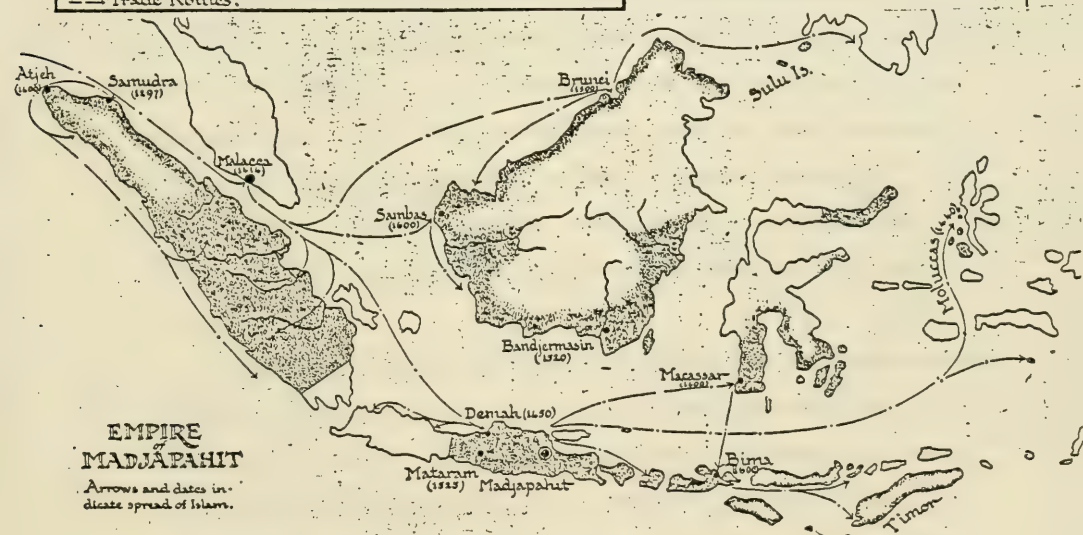


Illustration no. 27 -Indonesia during Hindu-Buddhist Period



This map is taken from Bernard H.H. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, Massachusetts, 1944, p.2

- Approximate Extension of the Kingdom of Shrivijaya.
- Approximate Extension and Sphere of Influence of the Javanese Kingdoms of Janggala and Kadiri.
- Approximate Eastern Boundary of Direct Hindu Influence.
- Trade Routes.



This map is also taken from :  
Bernard H.H. Vlekke, *Nusantara, A History of The East Indian Archipelago*,  
Cambridge-Massachusetts; Harvard University Press, 1944, p.55



The term "pakuan" is sometimes thought to derive from "paku" ("nail" or alternaltively a type of plant), in this case now translated "nail" or "axis of the world". In a general sense it may be translated simply "capital".

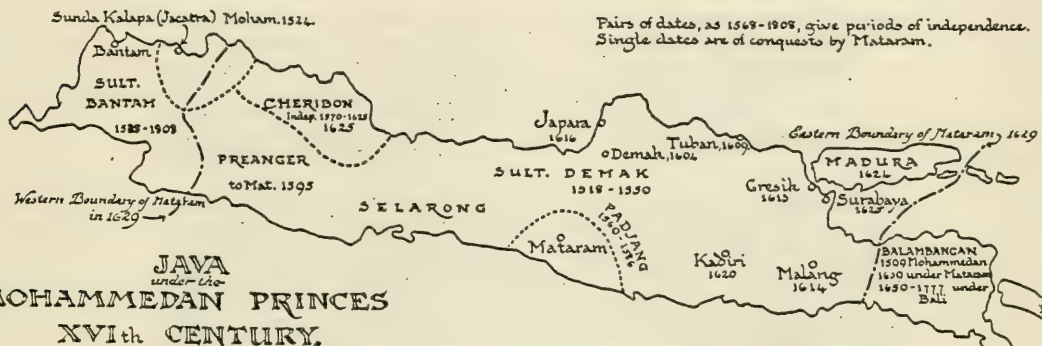
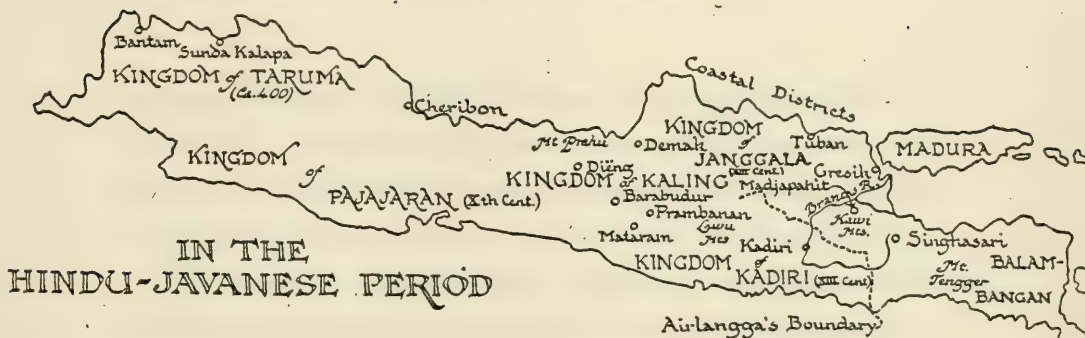
In west Banten Sivaitic images (Mahedewa, Guru, Brahma, Durga, Ganesha, Yonis and linggas) have been found at numerous sites, mainly from Cimanuk and Caringin. In style they are "removed as far as possible from Hindu-Javanese culture".<sup>44</sup> The kingdom of Pajajaran is mentioned in the inscription of Batutulis, and in a number of copper-plate inscriptions. The date of the Batutulis inscription is open to some doubt; it has been variously interpreted as 1133, or 1433.<sup>45</sup> Pajajaran may already have existed as early as the thirteenth century. It is more than a little puzzling that neither Sunda nor Pajajaran are mentioned in the Majapahit court poem "Nagarakrtagama" of 1365. But a number of inscriptions in Old Sundanese dating from the fifteenth century as mentioned before, have been found around West Java.

Despite its distance from the coast, Pakuan Pajajaran's location at Bogor can be said to have had a strategic quality. The major communication routes of west Java could be controlled from there; the riverheads at Rumpin and Ciampea on the Cisadane, Muaraberes from Ciliwung, Cikawao on the Pitarum and perhaps Karang Sembung on the Cimanuk.<sup>46</sup> Although overland traffic was laborious at best, and probably not viable from wheeled vehicles during the rainy



Illustration no.28

The development of Banten Kingdom



Source : Bernard H.M. Vlekke, Nusantara, A History of The East Indian Archipelago, Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. Press 1944, pp. 34, 95, and 153







season, a route did exist; it was mentioned as the road which went from Kroan (Karawang) through the mountain to Banten, crossing the Ciliwung at Muaraberes most frequently in connection with military movements, not commerce.<sup>47</sup>

In "carita Parahiyangan", one of the old Sundanese palm leaf-manuscriptsts is found (at keropak 406) as follows:

"Di inya urut kada tuan, ku Bujangga Sedamanah ngantar Sri kadatwan Bima-Punta-Narayana-Madra-Suradipati. Anggeus ta tuluy diprebokta ku Maharaja Tarusbawa djeung Bujangga Sedamanah. Disiar ka hulu Cipakancilan. Katimu Bogawat Sunda Mayajati. Ku Bujangga Sadamanah di bawa ka hareupeun Maharaja Tarusbawa (vol. 37.v).<sup>48</sup>

There was found the old palace which was named Sri Kadatwan Bima Punta-Narayan-Madura-Suradipati. This name was given by Bujangga Sedamanah. The palace was restored by Maharaja Tarusbawa and Bujangga Sedamanah. Cipakancilan is one of the upper parts of the river which was a place where Bagawat Sunda Mayati was there. He was found by Bujangga Sedamanah, and presented to Maharaha Tarusbawa.

This manuscript informs that the palace was situated in Bogor City, and was built by Maharaja Tarusbawa, it is mentioned that this palace was restored by Prabu Susuktunggal and became the palace (pakuan) Sri Baduga Maharaha Pajajaran.

Excavations at the site of Banten Girang give an insight into West Java's increasing involvement in overseas trade. This involvement came at a time when the Malay areas of Southern Sumatra, which had once dominated trade in Selat Sunda (Sunda Strait), were suffering from political and economic pressures caused by the expansion of Chinese trade



and shipping under the Southern Sung and the expansionist policies of the East Javanese kingdom of Singosari. The geographical situation of West Java, between the powerful maritime empire of Srivijaya to the west and the successive agrarian Hindu-Javanese Kingdom to the east, made it difficult for the existence and eventual expansion of a Hindu-Sundanese kraton.<sup>49</sup>

The site of Banten Girang is also important in providing a link between the fifth century kingdom of Tarumanagara and the later kingdom of Pajajaran, about which little is known. Both Banten Girang, located on the Banten river, and Muara Ciaruteun located on the Ciasadane, are submontane sites situated some distance from the sea. Both sites appear to have been occupied for long periods, although whether occupation was continuous or intermittent is not known. Because foreign ceramics appear at these inland sites there were, presumably, coastal settlements where exchange was held. As yet, however, no port site from the period, such as the site of Tuban which was found in the Brantas Delta of East Java, has come to light in the Banten region. There may have been settlements or ports near the mouth of Ciatrum, in East Bekasi, 25 km to northeast Jakarta.<sup>50</sup>

A "Nandi" (a bull's vehicle of Siva) image was found at Karangantu in 1906 (Krom, N. J., 1914), and a few shards of Tang and Sung Chinese ceramics were found at Banten Girang.



By the thirteenth century West Java may have again been subject to a Sumatran kingdom, that time established at Jambi. According to a Chinese gazetteer compiled by Zhau Rugua, harbour-master at Canton, Cin-t'o (Sunda) was a vassal of Sriwijaya along with the rest of Sumatra and Malay Peninsual. Zhau provides the first relatively detailed description of Sunda:

In the kingdom of Sun-t'o there is a harbour (or anchorage) with a depth of sixty feet. Whenever one travels, by water or land, one meets with the people's dwellings all along the two shores. The people are also given to agriculture; their houses are made of poles stuck in the ground, roofed over with the bark of the coir-palm, the partitions being made with wooden boards (tied) with bits of rattan. Both men and women wrap round their loins a piece of cotton, and in cutting their hair they only leave it half an inch long. The country produced pumpkins, sugar cane, bottle gourds, beans and egg-plants. As, however, there is no regular governemnt in this country, the people are given to brigandage, on which account foreign traders rarely go there.<sup>21</sup>

The appearance of sizable quantities of imported ceramics in the Banten and western part of Sunda from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is surely of some significance. If, as Chau Ju-Kua such mentioned above, he indicates, West Java was a state of turmoil in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are rarely visited by foreign shipping, the recoveries at Banten Girang and Muara Ciaruteun suggest that both political stability and economic opportunity had improved, enabling foreign merchants to participate actively in trading. Such ceramics were



probably shipped directly in Chinese bottoms.<sup>52</sup>

Despite this rather disparaging account of West Java's political condition, perhaps an accurate reflection of the effects of Sumatran suzerainty which deliberately discouraged a strong local government, Sundanese culture continued to evolve along its own lines.

According to the Dutch scholar Krom, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there emerged:

"A highly individual culture...a Hindu-Sundanese culture, with its center in the kingdom of Padjajaran. The political contrast with the east (of Java), which expressed itself during the Hayam Wuruk's time in armed conflict, is also unmistakable in the sphere of art. Nothing here is related to East Java; old Sundanese art is the daughter of Central Java".<sup>53</sup>

In other words, Sundanese art of this period, mainly stone sculptures, preserved features of the eighth and ninth centuries rather than affecting the more esoteric style of Singhosari and Majapahit. Many statues found in West Java, whose style suggests that they were made by a population who had only superficially been influenced by Hindu symbolism.

A great battle ensued at Bubad, in which the Sundanese were massacred although they fought bravely. The historical truth of the tale is difficult to verify; Pigeaud, however, does not doubt its veracity, and infers that all reference to Sunda was intentionally omitted from "Nagarakratagama" in deference to Hayam Wuruk's sorrow at losing his bride.<sup>54</sup>

According to Vlekke, there are two versions of what happened





to the princess. The first says that the king of Mojopahit married the king of Sunda's daughter, but not as his official queen, and that she died shortly afterwards. The other version is given by the romance in which this story still circulates on Java and Bali.<sup>55</sup>

This story holds that the princess killed herself on the battlefield beside her father's body. After this massacre, rancor and hostility existed between the two parts of Java, and Sunda (Pajajaran) never submitted to Gajah Mada's hated authority.<sup>56</sup>

The story of the Sundanese princess in romantic form appears in "Kidung Sunda" which is edited by Berg. As a literary source, the Kidung Sunda, describes a war between Sunda and Majapahit which is supposed to have occurred in 1357. According to the story, Hayam Wuruk, the king of Majapahit, wanted to marry her. She was carried to the river port of Bubad by a large Sundanese fleet. She was, however, insulted by Gajah Mada, the Majapahit Prime Minister, who refused to acknowledge her as the equal of Hayam Wuruk and would only admit her as a concubine. The battle ensued in this place. Unable to break through the ring of steel that surrounded them, they made a last desperate assault on Gajah Mada himself and his retinue. This was the end.<sup>57</sup>

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, among the places described by Tome Pires we find a section depicting Sunda shortly before its conversion to Islam began. Most of



Sunda was still ruled by Pakuan Pajajaran at this time.

Pires first mentions:

"The king of Sunda with his great city of Dayo, the town and lands and port of Kalapa (now Jakarta), the port of Chi Mnuk; this is Sunda because the river of Chi Manuk is the limit of both kingdoms...The king of Sunda is a heathen and (so are) all the lords of his kingdom. Sunda is (land of) chivalrous, seafaring warriors - they say more so than the Javanese, taking them all in all. They are men of goodly figure, swarthy, robust men. The king's son inherits the kingdom, and when there is no legitimate son it is by election of the great ones of the kingdom. It is the custom in Sunda for the king's wives and nobles to burn themselves when he dies...

The land of Sunda has as much as four thousand horses which come there from Priaman and other islands to be sold...The people of the sea coast get on well with the merchants in the land. They are accustomed to trade. They bring cargo lancharas, ships of a hundred and fifty tons. Sunda has up to six junks and many lancharas of the Sunda kind...

The city where the king is most of the year is the great city of Dayo. The city has well-built houses of palm leaf and wood. They say that the king's house has three hundred and thirty wooden pillars as thick as a wine cask, and five fathoms high...This city is two days' journey from the chief port, which is called Kalapa...

It has a certain amount of better pepper than that from India - up to a thousand bahars (a unit of weight, which at Bantam equalled 493 pounds); enough tamarinds to load a thousand ships; it trades chiefly in male and female slaves who are natives of the country as well as others they bring from the Maldiv islands because they can get from Sunda to the Maldiv islands in six or seven days. (Pires apparently included the islands of the west coast of Sumatra as part of the Maldives.) Their chief merchandise is rice that Sunda can sell, up to ten junkloads a year, unlimited vegetables, countless meats, pigs, goats, sheep, cows in large quantities; it has wines, it has fruits; it is as plentiful as Java, and they often come from Malacca to Sunda every year for slaves, rice, and pepper, and for small money, cash from China. They are pierced through the middle like ceitis so that they can be threaded in hundreds...



The kingdom of Sunda has its ports. The first is the port of Bantam. Junks anchor in this port. It is (a) trading (port). There is a good city on the river. The city has a captain. This port is almost the most important of all; a river empties there by the sea. It has a great deal of rice and foodstuffs and pepper. The second is Pontang, which is already a lesser port than Bantam. It has a great town...This port is on a river on the sea...<sup>58</sup>

Calapa or Kalapa was so called "Sunda Kalapa" situated at the mouth of Ciliwung river, and was one of the important ports of the Pajajaran kingdom. Sunda/Kalapa was used as the harbour of Sunda Pajajaran from the 12th until the 16th centuries.

"It is the most important and best of all. This is where the trade is greatest whether they all sail from Sumatra and Palembang, Laue, Tomjombpura, Malacca, Macassar, Java, and Madura, and many other places".<sup>59</sup>

Tome Pires noted that among the ports of the kingdom of Sunda, the port of Calapa was the one worth mentioning.<sup>60</sup> He reported, furthermore, that Calapa is two days' journey from the place where the king has his residence, a fact which is considered to be of importance. Probably the last event in connection with Sunda's relationship with other realms was a treaty between Sunda and the Portuguese. In 1522, the captain of Malacca, Jorge d'Albuquerque, sent a ship under the command of Henrique Leme to a port of Sunda with presents for the king and offers of friendship. The treaty was signed on the 21st of August and the Portuguese were allowed to build a fortress. A padrao or pillar was



set up on the site chosen for this purpose.<sup>41</sup>

The capital of Pajajaran was located 60 km to the south of Calapa (158 km to the northeast of Banten). Ten Dam, a Dutch scholar, in his effort to define and locate the Pajajaran kingdom stated that Pajajaran was a particular name for the capital of the kingdom of Sunda (which was located near the present city of Bogor). The existence of the royal city was mentioned, although the name of the kingdom was still unknown. He referred to the Portuguese sources which gave the name of this kingdom Sunda (Qumda) and the king: "el roy de Qumda". On the other hand, Ten Dam did not agree with the Portuguese, who compared the Pajajaran king with "el roy de Portugal". The kingdoms in Europe and the ancient kingdoms of Indonesia have a quite different concept of its existence. The Sunda kingdom as reported by Barros, extended from Banten up to the Cimanuk river.<sup>42</sup>

During the British interregnum, 1811-1815, Sir Stamford Raffles spent much of his time at Bogor and perhaps took walks about the remains of the site. He mentions:

"At Pajajaran, a heap of stones is pointed out as the ruin the Setingel (Sitinggil), in the extant palaces of Java a raised area at the front of the palace facing the public square "alun-alun"; important public audiences of royalty were held here), and numerous lines crossing the country between rivers attest to the care with which this position was entrenched. They may be seen close by the roadside, at a few hundred yards from the Governor-General's country residence (in 18th century Bogor, then called "Buitensorg" means "without





care", became the residence of Dutch Governor-Generals), and in many places they have been cut through to make a passage for the high road".<sup>63</sup>

In another source of the description of the capital of Pajajaran kingdom, De Hann mentioned that on the morning of 6 June 1690, Captain Adolf Winckelaer marched out from Batavia with 16 European and 24 Makassar troops, and two surveyors to map the Ciliwung and Cisadane rivers and to inspect "the old center of Pakuan". On pursuing his inquiry further, who, how, and why the king had founded this capital, it was reported that it was one "Prabu Siliwangi".<sup>64</sup> Ten Dam gave another name: "Sriman Sri Wacana".<sup>65</sup> According to a survey by Pleyte, the palace was known as Sri Bima Punta-Narayana-Madura-Suradipati.<sup>66</sup> The town was remembered as "Salak Domas". A few traces of the wall still remained. A small street called "Lawang Saketeng" means "Gate with leaf doors"; the north gate probably stood nearby. Other districts were known as "Jero Kuta wetan", "eastern side of the city wall", and "Jero Kuta kulon", "western side of the city wall". Another place named "tugu benteng" means "boundary marker of the fort". Along the western road lay a place called Bale Kambang; here still existed a diversion in the river intended to create the pond, such as was previously found in all royal residences in Java (until 1911) in many Regents' houses.<sup>67</sup>

At Lawang Gintung the dike of the "Cipakancilan" cut through the eastern wall and formed a potential source of



water for the former keraton (palace). Here too lay a "babuyatan", a holy place, paved with river cobbles, with some standing stones including a fragment of a Siva Mahadewa. Along Cipaku and Cisadane, all traces of old times had already been destroyed, but at Sukasari, some remains of an old moat were still visible.<sup>68</sup> Pakuan Pajajaran's location is not easy to find now. The visitor to Bogor city in the late 20th century can see much less than these earlier accounts. A few remnants of the Pakuan Pajajaran can still, however, be traced in the Bogor Botanical Gardens.

The Portuguese capture of Malacca in 1511 did not leave them content. Their ultimate objective was to control all strategic points along the route which the valuable spices followed between the Moluccas and Europe; this meant that they needed a chain of forts east of Malacca. One of the first steps they took toward this goal was to dispatch an expedition to West Java in 1522. The Portuguese found a willing ally in the ruler of Sunda, who gave them permission to establish a fortified trading post at Sunda Kalapa (Jakarta). As a token of their agreement, the Portuguese erected a stone pillar, or "padrao", in Sunda Kalapa and returned to Malacca with the intention of returning to build a fortified trading post. This padrao was found in 1918 during construction near Cengkeh Road, Jakarta Old Town (now the National Museum).<sup>69</sup>



Before the factory could be built, however, the Governor of Malacca requested permission to do so from the king in Portugal. This took four years. When a Portuguese force returned to West Java in 1526, they found that Banten and Sunda Kalapa were now under the control of a Moslem usurper whom they called Falatehan. Unfortunately, the plan of building the fortress was never fulfilled because Sunda Kalapa succumbed to the Moslem troops led by Falatehan (Fadilah Khan).<sup>70</sup>

The north coast of Sunda was subdued relatively quickly, but the center of the pre-Islamic kingdom of Pajajaran at Pakuan did not fall until 1579. Da Barros did not visit Indonesia, so we cannot determine the reliability of his characterization; archaeologists have not found any traces of the temples he mentions, but perhaps they were made of perishable materials. Krom (1914) mentioned that a few traces have been found at the site of old Banten, including most notably a statue of Siva's bull nandi, discovered while digging a canal between Karangantu and the sea, together with a few fragments of a gold ornament plus shards of fifteenth-century Thai pottery.<sup>71</sup> One trace of the temple has been found at the site of Banten Girang, on the top of the bank of the Banten river, which, according to Professor Aurora Tim, may have been made of wood, so it was easily destroyed.<sup>72</sup> Under this ruin of the temple we found another interesting physical feature of the site, the so-



called "Guha Banten". This is not, as the name might suggest, a natural cave but a series of three rectangular chambers cut into the west bank of this river. The name Banten Girang derives from the Sundanese "girang" meaning upstream and is therefore equivalent to the Indonesian or Malay word "hulu" or "ulu". As an important habitation site, Banten Girang provides useful data for the reconstruction of former cultural and historical frameworks.

In a significant passage on the history of Banten, Raffles described Girang as one of the capitals, "...of which the ruins are still visible..." When a survey was conducted in 1815, Banten consisted of 12 villages with 5,699 population, Serang with 42 villages and 19,793 population.<sup>73</sup> This pattern of settlement wherein the population is concentrated some distance inland, rather than on the coast, probably resembles that of the early sixteenth century; it is also the same as that of today. The winds of change started blowing into West Java in the sixteenth century with the coming of the Moslems from the coastal kingdom of Demak in northern central Java, and from Cirebon on the border between west and central Java, which had already become Islamic areas. A minor port of the north coast of west Java brought to life by conquering Moslem merchant-spreaders coming from the more eastern parts of the island, Banten blossomed into an Islamic sultanate. Under the Moslem rule, the relationship between Sunda Kalapa and Banten was





reversed: Banten became the primary port in West Java. During the course of the sixteenth century Banten grew rapidly, that by the end of the century it was the principal port in western Indonesia.

### 2.3.3. Banten during the Islamic Period.

Many articles have discussed the spread and growth of Islamic religion in Indonesia, and especially in Java, where the oldest available evidence on the presence of Islam is a memorial tablet commemorating the burial of Fatimah binti Maimun (daughter of Maimun; better known as Princess Suwari) in Leran, north Gresik, in the year 1082 A.D., and the tomb of Maulan Malik Ibrahim in Gresik in the year 1419 A.D., but this historical evidence is still doubtful. It is generally assumed that the spread of Islam in Java started in the 15th century.<sup>74</sup> Soekmono refers to Louis Damais, in his study of the tombstones which were found at the site of the capital of Majapahit, managed to find a number which dates back to the golden age of Majapahit under the rule of king Haya Wuruk, that the oldest date carved on the stone is 1368 A.D. He remarks:

"Hence it can be established that in the middle of the fourteenth century there was already a Moslem community at the capital of Majapahit in the southern part of town (now the hamlet of Tralaya). This means that in the town of Majapahit, Islam was not unknown. The further conclusion can be drawn that its propagation must have been going on for some time. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the oldest Moslem tombs in Indonesia were imported from Cambay and did not have



any headstones, like the oldest tombs in Samudra Pasai and the one of Maulana Malik Ibrahim. The use of headstones in the tombs of Tralaya, which were, moreover, decorated with ornamental carvings in the contemporary style, therefore clearly shows that Islam as a cultural element had already penetrated and was already accepted in what was still a Hindu society. The use of dates in the Shaka calendar, and not in the Hijrah calendar, written with Old Javanese characters, further strengthens this conclusion".<sup>75</sup>

Another example of a date which, in Djajadiningrat's opinion, should be considered as symbolic is the "candra-sengkala" (chronogram): "sirna hilang kerta ning bumi" (the disappearance of world peace), dated 1400 Shaka (1478 A.D.) It is mentioned in the Javanese "babad" as the date of the fall of the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit, brought about by the Islamic kingdom of Demak. That date, obtained from the Javanese traditions, had at first been considered historical.<sup>76</sup> However, among Dutch scholars, some refuted; some concluded that since the date cannot be considered historical, they assumed that the fall was not brought about by an Islamic kingdom but by another Hindu kingdom.<sup>77</sup> Later on, the other scholars continued to support it. Furthermore, Djajadiningrat considers the date to be symbolic. To support this contention one should compare the verbal meaning of its chronogram with that of the chronogram in the "Sejarah Banten" (history of Banten) referring to the downfall of the Hindu kingdom of Pajajaran brought about by the Moslem kingdom of Banten. The first chronogram means "the disappearance of world peace"; the second, "the



destruction of the world". One should also compare the numerical value of the two chronograms. The one (1400 Shaka) indicates the end of an old, and the other (1501 Shaka) the beginning of a new century.<sup>78</sup>

Banten, originally a port of significance under the control of the Hindu-Sundanese island state of Pajajaran, was in 1525 forceably occupied together with the region around Jakarta by the Moslem zealot Falatehan in the name of the Sultan of Demak. It was planned to use it as a Moslem outpost against the Portuguese, who, having conquered Malacca in 1511, had gained Sunda Kalapa (Jakarta) as a foothold in Java by a treaty with the ruler of Pajajaran, with the struggle for the central power in the later period of Javanese independence. The Javanese colony of Banten was thus a rather recent settlement as compared to the cities of eastern Java.

The accounts from the first Dutch voyages describe Banten as an aristocratic city surrounded by gated walls. The position of the ruler was sustained by the might of nobility, and the means of power were in their hands.<sup>79</sup> Each of the nobles exercised control over a section of the city, and in each court each maintained his armed retinue of warriors, mercenaries, and slaves.<sup>80</sup> One of the most important sources, both about Falatehan and for the early history of Banten in general, is a text entitled "Sejarah Banten". This text was originally composed a few years



Nagari noted that Failah Khan was one of Sunan Gunung Jati's sons-in-law.<sup>82</sup>

Studying the ruling systems of the north coast of Java with Demak at the summit in 1527, some ports held key positions after Demak, the north coast was completely covered by Cirebon, Banten, and Sunda Kalapa. Central Java was under the rule of Demak while West Java came under the rule of Cirebon. We just conclude that the identity of Islamic Banten's founder is difficult to establish. Uncertainty over this matter does not, however, affect the major fact that he had been dispatched by the ruler of Demak, a port in north-central Java, who had ambitious plans for territorial and religious expansion. There is no record of Falatehan's or Demak's precise motive for choosing to occupy Sunda; one can only speculate that they were moved to action partially in order simply to forestall Portuguese intentions to occupy that coast, partly through the attraction of the site itself due to its proximity to the increasingly strategic pepper producing territories. Demak's agents were also busy in Banjarmasin, south Borneo, another pepper-producing territory, which involved both the spread of Islam and the attempt to impose some form of temporal overlordship. They probably desired to portray themselves to the rest of Javanese society as legitimate recreators of the glorious image of the kingdom of Majapahit, which exercised sovereignty over the same areas





beyond Java in the fourteenth century, while also preselytizing for islam. Demak was newly converted (between approximately 1500-1504). Its first Islamic ruler, Pangeran Sumangsang, is better known as Raden Fatah, the name given him in the Javanese romance "Babad Tanah Jawi." That version portrays him as the son of Brawijaya, the last king of Jahapahit; after reaching adulthood, he conquered the capital city, his father retiring to Mount Lawu from whence he ascended into heaven. When Tome Pires was writing, around 1515, Demak's situation was critical. Many men had been lost in an attack against the Portuguese in Malacca in cooperation with Jepara, another port about 20 km northwest of Demak, in 1512-1513. Demak's hinterland includes fertile rice growing aras, but much of the kngdom's previous power had been supported via trade with Malacca. Pires implies that Demak's ruler, although a staunch Molsem, had been compelled to declare himself a vassal of Malacca in order to save himself from utter ruin.<sup>83</sup>

In 1518, Raden Fatah was succeeded by Pangeran Sebrang Lor, who was in turn replaced by his brother Tranggana in 1521. Pangeran Tranggana took the Islamic title Sultan in about 1524 on the suggestion of his adviser, who was none other than Sunan Gunung Jati. Tranggana and Sunan Gunung Jati together elevated Demak from its difficult straits to a position of pre-eminence among Javanese principalities which lasted for 20 years. Demak did fair to assume the mantle of



Majapahit's successor until Sultan Trangguna was killed in the battle at Panarukan in 1546; Demak then quickly sank into insignificance.<sup>84</sup>

The story of Banten's founding begins with a trip by Maulana Hasanuddin and his father, the Heroic Moslem saint Sunan Gunung Jati (Syarif Hidayatullah), via Banten Girang to a mystical mountain Pulosari in the south of Sunda where 800 Hindu-Buddhist priests lived. Maulana Hasanuddin meditated on the mountains of Pulosari and Karang, before his father returned home, leaving Hasanuddin at Banten. The leader of the 800 priests having disappeared, Hasanuddin became their leader. Together they sought a place to conduct a (ritual) cockfight; they were joined by two ponggawa (chiefs) from Pakuan (the palace of Pajajaran), who converted to Islam.<sup>85</sup> Hasanuddin then conquered Banten Girang, and later he was called to attend a conclave of the 9 "wali" or Wali sanga (9 Moslem leaders), a group of heroic Moslem saints traditionally credited with converting the Javanese to Islam at Cirebon, and while there he was betrothed to the daughter of the Sultan of Demak. Hasanuddin was then installed as Raja (king) of Banten with the title of Panembahan Surasowan. He continued his efforts to convert the population of Banten to Islam, and after some time he and the Pakuan "ponggawa" undertook a journey to various places in southern Sumatra: Lampung, Indrapura, and Bengkulu. Later, Sunan Gunung Jati came to



visit him and instructed him to build a city of the coast; he specified the proper place for the market, the palace, and the public square (alun-alun). The unbelievers in the interior should be subjected, and a meditation site built on Gunung Pinang (about 7 km south of Old Banten). Hasanuddin was eventually succeeded by his son Maulana Yusuf who built a fort, constructed dams, canals, and rice fields, and encouraged settlements. Gunung Jati's origins have also been described in many sources, some of them fantastic. Some depict him as the son of a man who had been found in a box under the sea in Pasai (Aceh, northern Sumatra). According to official tradition of Cirebon and Banten, he was an Arab and his mother a princess of Pajajaran. Djajadiningrat concludes that this genealogy is probably the expression of a desire to attribute to him both religious status and royal legitimacy, though he may well have come from Pasai and have had Arab blood.<sup>86</sup>

Sunan Gunung Jati, along with Hasanuddin and Maulana Yusuf, built this city from their conception of Moslem culture which did not at all change the foundations of society and the philosophy of life of the Javanese or Bantenese people. The process of the diffusion of Moslem cultural elements into Java or other islands of Indonesia was explained by van Leur as being the result of the propagation of the religion of Islam.<sup>87</sup> We may see some living monuments such as the Grand Mosque of Banten which



was built by Maulana Hasanuddin as barely distinguishable from a meru or pagoda, with its elaborate system of corbels and gabled-tiled roof characteristically sloping upwards at the corners (photo. 1).

Maulana Hasanuddin was formally enthroned as Banten's raja in 1552. He reigned until 1570 and is credited with the construction of a palace and the Grand Mosque. In 1570 when he passed away he would have been about 70 years old (80 if the birthdate of 1490 given in the "Purwaka Caruban Nagiri" is correct). After his death, according to Banten tradition, he was given a posthumous sobriquet: Pangeran Sabakingking, after his place of burial (sabakingking meaning "place of mourning" in Javanese). His successor, Maulana Yusuf, reigned until 1580, during which time he extended Banten's territory and expanded the Grand Mosque. After his death, he was given the name Pangeran pasarean, and buried at Pakalangan, near the road from Banten Lama (Old Banten) to Serang. Yusuf was succeeded by Maulana Muhammed. In 1580 he was still minor; the ruler of the port of Jepara, in north central Java, claimed the right to rule Banten. The indigenous population of Banten rejected his claim, however, and thus the link to central Java was severed. Previously, old Banten had been a daughter city of Demak;<sup>88</sup> subsequently it became something of an enclave of Javanese culture and language within a Sundanese milieu.

Cornelis de Houtman first arrived in Banten from





Holland, entering the archipelago in 1596 (23rd June). He was received with due respect by Sultan Muhammad Ratu Ing Banten.<sup>87</sup> Muhammad ruled for 16 years, until his life was cut short by a tragic event precisely when Banten was about to experience new challenges from overseas. In early 1596, Banten launched an attack against Palembang. The motive behind the attack is unclear. Muhammad led a fleet to Palembang but while aboard his ship at anchor in the Musi river, he was struck and instantly killed by a chance shot from a cannon, according to legend manned by a Portuguese renegade.<sup>88</sup> The Banten fleet broke off the attack and sailed home. Muhammad was buried in the graveyard of the Grand Mosque.

Muhammad's son and successor, Abdul Mafchir Mahumd Abdul Kadir Kenari, (Abdul Kadir, for short) was only five months old at the time. This necessitated a period of regency with accompanying intrigues and rivalry at the very time when unity and decisive leadership would have been most necessary for the first Dutch fleet arrived in Banten during the same year. When the northern Europeans came to Indonesia at the end of the century, seeking to challenge Portuguese superiority in the spice trade, Banten was one of the first ports to which they resorted. According to Francois Pyrard de Laval, who sailed from France in 1601,

"All those who go to the Indies and other places beyond the Cape of Good Hope, when they desire to go to Sumatra they only say that they are going to Achin, for



that town land, as is done on Java Major with Bantam, so that talk is only of these two kings".<sup>71</sup>

The Dutch arrived in 1596, followed shortly thereafter by the English. When they entered Banten Bay, on June 23, 1596, they saw 70 vessels anchored in the lee of Panjang island, which sheltered them from the winds and swells of the Java sea. There was another anchorage 3 1/2 km from Banten at Pulau Lima (Lima island). Upon arriving, a junk of 32 tons carried a Portuguese-speaking man to inquire of them who they were and what they wanted.<sup>72</sup>

In 1598, Banten had to repel a Portuguese attack; again in 1601, 30 Portuguese ships appeared but were driven away by the Dutch. The Spanish blockaded the port in 1602 in retaliation for hostile actions by the Dutch rather than any animosity toward the Bantenese.<sup>73</sup> For a month in 1603, the city was terrorized by a group of men from Lampung (south Sumatra) who had come to capture heads to take to their king, "a bitter enemy of the Bantenese" who was said to offer a woman for every foreigner's head.<sup>74</sup>

Between 1596 and 1602, the Dutch in Indonesia expanded the scope of their activities extremely rapidly. In 1602, they had factories at Gresik, northeast Java; Bana and Ternate in the Moluccas; Aceh, north Sumatra; and also Johor, at the south end of the Malay Peninsula and Patani, on the east coast near the Kra Isthmus, now part of southern Thailand. Their victory at Banten was erected in 1603; its



head accountant and director was Jan Pieterszoon Coen,<sup>95</sup> who played a vital role in establishing the pattern of Dutch-Indonesian relations during the following 20 years.

A few years later, a dispute arose between the Dutch, the Chinese, and the ruler over pepper prices and the monopolistic ambitions of the Dutch. Seeking a possible alternative to Banten, the first warehouse the Dutch built had already been demolished for appearing too much like a fort. In 1611, the Dutch established another factory at Jakarta. Pieter Both, first Dutch Governor General, bought land on the east bank of the Ciliwung river near its mouth in the Chinese quarter. In 1618, the British built a warehouse in Jakarta. Meanwhile, Uka Tjandrasasmita who has been analysing some local sources has found many names referring to Jakarta from Pangeran Jakarta such Jayawikarta, Sungarasa Jayawikarta, and Kawis Adimarta (has been mentioned by Kawis Adimarta in Gogo Sandjadirdja sources, dated 1206 Hijrah). The names which are mentioned above are similar to those in the reports of the Dutch Company who called him Conick or regent van Jacarta (king of Jacarta).<sup>96</sup>

After the British withdrew from their agreement with the Dutch, they returned to Banten, helping the pepper trade to recover until the 1670's when Banten reached a new peak of prosperity.<sup>97</sup> The Banten factory was in charge of all British "southern" factories (everything from Coromandel to the east) from 1628 to 1630 and 1633 to 1682, reflecting its



pre-eminent position. Banten had, around the middle of the 17th century, as its ruler Sultan Abul Fath bin Abdul Fathi or Sultan Agung (the great) Tirtayasa, who in his later years ruled beside his son Abdulkahar.

In 1674, Sultan Agung's son Abdulkahar went to Mecca on a pilgrimage and returned to Banten on a British ship. The court became a center of Islamic learning, and Banten regained its old cosmopolitanism. According to Schrieke,

"Again and again one notes in Banten the continual coming and going of 'moorish popes', which can only mean that there was unbroken contact - via Surat - with the centres of Moslem spiritual life."<sup>98</sup>

Life in the palace was embellished by the import of dancers from Malabar, India in 1679. In Banten, a peculiar custom of sharing of power between the ruler and the crown prince seems to have existed as early as the reign of Sultan Mahmud. He was often ill and in 1636 appointed his son Pangeran Fekhih as co-ruler. Pangeran Fekjih, however, died in about 1650, so his grandson, Pangeran Surya, was then appointed. The relationship between the two co-rulers seems to have been flexible, but the heir had considerable powers; for example, he could hold audiences either jointly with the Sultan or by himself.<sup>99</sup>

Sultan Agung Tirtayasa followed the same practice by appointing his son Abdulkahar as his co-ruler in 1677-1678, with the title Sultan Haji. Sultan Agung seems to have intended to allow Sultan Haji to conduct the daily affairs





of the kingdom; he retired to a palace he had built for himself called Tirtayasa at Fontang, 15 km east of Banten Lama (Old Banten). Tirtayasa had been built at east partly by a Dutchman named Hendrik Lucasz Cardeel, from Steenwijk. In 1675, he had defected from Batavia to Banten, was circumcised and embraced Islam. He was given the title Pangeran Wiragunan but was also called Kiayi Lurah in 1680. He was a master bricklayer by trade, and his skills were in demand, for in 1675, the palace of Surosowan in Banten had just burned down. In addition to his titles, he was given one of the royal concubines in marriage. Cardeel/Wiragunan might have lived peacefully in Banten the rest of his life if more violent political events had not intervened; in fact the peace and prosperity which Banten had enjoyed since about 1670 were to not last much longer.<sup>100</sup>

On April 30, 1680, a fight broke out at Tirtayasa during a debate between a party led by Tirtayasa who favored launching an attack against the Dutch, and a party which, having witnessed Dutch victories over Mataram firsthand, favored peace. Tirtayasa impulsively abdicated the next day in favor of Sultan Haji. However, he swiftly regretted this action for he was also vexed by his son's policies which also favored the continuation of peace. Many of Sultan Agung's advisors moved to Lampung, either of their own free will or because they had been replaced by Sultan Haji. There they instigated a rebellion while in contact with



Sultan Agung Tirtayasa.<sup>101</sup>

On November 10, 1681, Sultan Haji dispatched two ambassadors to England on board the ship "New London". They arrived safely around April 27, 1682. The envoys were given a great reception in London, including the bestowal of the titles "Sir Abdul" and "Sir Ahmad", and witnessed many entertainments, including a performance of the "The Tempest". They were introduced to numerous members of royalty and society, including the future Queen Anne. Dryden wrote a poem about them which was, unfortunately, most uncomplimentary in its remarks about their appearances and habits, unfamiliar as they were to the British. One of the envoys, Jaya Santan, is said to have spoken English well.<sup>102</sup> Finally, they were sent back to Banten on an English East Indiaman, the "Kempthorne", which left England in August, 1682, with two dogs, 9 cases of guns, mirrors, knives, saddles, 40 chests with hand lanterns and locks, 77 small cases of distilled water, some pots and pans, and the sleeping goods of the emissaries (who had brought their own cooks) as well as a letter for Sultan Haji and 500 barrels of gunpowder. Upon their return to Java in January, 1683, however, they found that their mission had been in vain.<sup>103</sup> According to Henningsen, the two ambassadors' route of their return to Banten, started from London, continued to Brazil, South Africa, Madagascar, and directly to Banten.<sup>104</sup>

In February, 1682, Sultan Agung had become openly



hostile to Haji; he burned Banten and besieged Haji in Surosowan. The only Dutchman in the palace, a baker whose business in Batavia had failed, advised Haji to seek Dutch aid. Haji managed to send a message to Batavia using Cardeel/Wiragunan as an emissary offering the Dutch in return for assistance against his father.<sup>105</sup>

The Dutch lost no time in taking advantage of the offer. In March, a VOC force sailed to Banten. Reinforcements had to be brought from Batavia before they could drive back Agung's troops. This first success took place on April 17, at a cost of thirty-two Dutch killed. Not until December 29th did the Tirtayasa fall. Sultan Agung fled into the highlands but was captured the next year and taken to Batavia where he remained until his death.

Haji had won the war, but his position was still insecure. Many subjects still hoped for a restoration of Agung. Ultimately, Haji purchased security at the cost of Banten's independence. In 1684, he signed a treaty in which he paid \$600,000 to the Dutch as compensation for their expenses in the war against Agung and relinquished his claim to sovereignty over Cirebon. Sultan Haji lived only 5 years after the war against his father. In 1687, he was succeeded by Sultan Fadhal, but he had a very short reign of only three years before his place was taken by Sultan Abul Mahasin Zainal Abidin, who reigned from 1690 to 1733. The situation in Banten deteriorated during the next reign, that



of Sultan Zainul Arifin, 1733-1748. He became insane, and his son being too young to assume the throne, the VOC appointed his queen, an Arab named Ratu Sarifa, as regent while the company assumed much of the actual power in the kingdom. The queen was not popular, and in 1750 a major rebellion took place. The rebels at first scored several successes and controlled most of Banten except for two forts.

Up to the 8th century, Banten was the kingdom central with maritime character. Therefore, the society emphasized their living on trading, which was more suitable for the traders or merchants who lived among the society in a maritime town. Banten used to be a trading center visited by both foreigners and natives. They established their own villages and stayed permanently there. But unfortunately, from their base in Batavia, 90 km to the east of Banten, the Dutch were in control and had built a massive fortress called Fort Speelwijk to protect their interests. Banten had limited powers as the Dutch took over control of the kingdom's trade and established a monopoly. This was the end of Banten as an independent trading power. Banten's influence continued to decline as the Dutch gradually strengthened their foothold despite repeated rebellions and insurgencies until 1808 when Governor General Herman Willem Daendels - angered by the killing of one of his envoys (Du Puy) by Bantenese - ordered the destruction of the city of





Banten.<sup>106</sup>

#### 2.3.4. The End of the Sultanate of Banten

By 1808, the VOC had been abolished, and Banten like the rest of Dutch-ruled Indonesia was under the administration of Netherlands East Indies governor-general. The Netherlands themselves were then among the countries conquered by France during the Napoleonic Wars. In that year, Marshal Daendels, a soldier who had served under Napoleon, was sent to Java as governor. He made much use of forced labor to prepare for a possible attack from the British, including the construction of a road from Anuyer, on Banten's west coast, to Panrukan, 1,000 km east, for military use. In addition to work on the road, the people of Banten were also forced to build harbours at Ujung Kulon, Mew Bay, then Merak. Many workers died under the harsh conditions and many deserted. The Dutch resident was told "to call upon the Sultan to deliver up his first Minister immediately" to be held responsible for the desertions. Instead, the resident was killed;<sup>107</sup> some Dutch guards of the Sultan were also murdered, so Willem Daendels led an army which stormed and looted Banten, shot the chief minister, and banished the Sultan to Ambon,<sup>108</sup> with a relative being installed in his place. Daendels had no more respect for the existing treaties with the Javanese princes



than for the feelings of the rulers themselves. From the sultan of Banten he demanded hundreds of workers for his fortifications along the shore of the Sunda Strait. Unwillingness to comply with this demand was considered proof of disloyalty. Vlekke remarks:

"Renewed demands were met with violence on the part of the people of Bantam, and thus a revolt broke out which could have been avoided. Here Daendels, the sword-rattling general of the Revolution, was in his true element. High on horseback and alone, he led the way for his troops in the attack on Bantam, dashing through the groups of armed rebels who, stunned and terrorized, made way for the governor-general. The coastal districts of the sultanate were annexed to the directly-ruled territories. The interior subsisted for a few years more as a vassal state."<sup>109</sup>

The real object of Daendel's mission, however, was something else. In the "Instruction for the Governor-General of His Majesty's Asiatic Possession" issued by King Louis on February 9, 1807, twelve of the thirty-seven articles dealt with military affairs, and article 14 made reorganization of the army the first of his duties.<sup>110</sup>

The British captured Java from the Dutch in 1811 without much difficulty since the indigenous population, having suffered so greatly during the last few years, were not inclined to provide them with any support. Achmad was first supported by the British, then the previous Sultan, Mahmud, was reinstated. However, he professed himself unable to control the "chronic unrest in his territories", so in 1813 he surrendered his right to rule to Batavia in return for an annuity of 10,000 Spanish dollars.<sup>111</sup>



Napoleon decided to recall Daendels and the annexation of the Netherlands to the empire of Napoleon and Daendels' attempted reorganization of the Dutch Indian military forces were the direct cause of the British attack on the last Netherlands overseas territory.<sup>112</sup> "Such was the end of the kingdom of Banten."<sup>113</sup>



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### Chapter Three

#### HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF OLD BANTEN

The hypothetical method deals with a specified class of phenomena: the remains of past human activity. It also attempts to isolate the explanation and classification of the relationship among the variables of these phenomena. By this method, I may then reconstruct past human activities from the data which I obtained during my last research in the site of Old Banten and documentation of archival research here at the University of Pennsylvania's libraries. Historical data gives sufficient evidence of the composition of Old Banten as a compound city in determining a reconstruction for this site, which several models present themselves. After we looked to the ideal models of the Islamic cities expressed in Asia and Africa, and also the Islamic and non-Islamic cities of Southeast Asia, in consideration of the hypothesis that Old Banten developed as an Islamic city, we have to compare with other cities by exploration of the prototype for Banten.

After Banten was conquered by Maulana Hasanuddin in 1525, it became, first, the principal port in western Java, replacing Sunda Kalapa; as the sixteenth century passed, so did Banten surpass the other competing market places along Java's north coast so that by 1596 it was the largest,





unpublished descriptions of Banten during the first 70 years of its rise to prominence, and they are brief. But I have tried to study the problems, field checks and interpretations at several locations in the ancient city of Banten, from the beginning of my work there (1976-1985), until I got the data which I obtained during my field research last summer, 1986.

### 3.1 Present Condition of the Site

According to the District Office's data, from 1813 until the second world war began, Old Banten was finally placed under direct control of the colonial government with an administrator residing in Serang City, 10 km north of Old Banten. Only in the 1940's did the people come back to Old Banten which had already become forest. Some of the monuments were covered with grass although the Dutch government tried many times to restore and preserve the site. The early days of preservation law in Indonesia, according to its movement was underway in earnest by the mid-1930's. The urban sites of Banten, as the cultural heritage of Indonesia, is under the protection of the government. The law to protect the historic monuments is the "Monuments Ordinance number 243 of 1931" which is still in force. But unfortunately, people came to build their houses on the ruins of those monuments surrounding the



ancient city of Banten. At present, the great Banten kingdom's town is only a "traditional village" of about 4,000 inhabitants, but the old glory of Banten is gone forever. Some antiquities from the time of the Banten kingdom which was the center of the Islamic city in the western part of Java (from the beginning of the early 16th to the early 19th centuries) can be found around this area, such as in the surroundings of the palaces (Surosowan and Kaibon), Grand Mosque, the funeral monuments of Sultans and their families, the lake of Tasikardi with its water pipes, Karangantu harbour, market places, Panjuanan as a local ceramic industrial site, and many other building foundations which are under earth covered with grass. Only three sites as living monuments are still used by Moslem and Buddhist activities. Those are: Grand Mosque and its compounds, Karangantu harbour and its market, and "Kelenteng" (Chinese temple).

In 1945, the Resident of Banten, Kiyai Tb. H. A. Khatib, who was also the director of preservation and development for the Banten mosque and palace, organized voluntary labor to clear the overgrowth which covered the site at the time. This activity continued until 1960. In 1964, the regency government formed an organization called the Command for Preserving and Restoring the Banten Archaeological Remains. The present condition of the sites in the ancient city of Banten, as the rich history of Banten



has left many physical traces, both large, such as the fortifications of Surosowan palace and Speelwijk fortress, and small, as in the thousands of shards of porcelain scattered about the site (ill. 29). Contemplating these relics, we can conjure up some slight image of the lives led by the individuals who made Banten Indonesia's first major city.

The Palace was called Surosowan at least as early as the seventeenth century. The whole compound of the palace is now in ruins. Only the surrounding wall with some of its parts is still to be seen. The remains consist of foundations and parts of the ruined walls of the rooms in this palace, the remains of a bathing place, and of a pond with a floating pavillion. The surrounding (fortress) wall is still 3 meters high, with an approximate width of 5 meters. In some parts, in particular in the south and east, one can see that the whole wall had vanished. The two gates stand on the north and east sides. In the four corners of the surrounding wall are bastions, which protrude in parts of this wall. According to the old maps or illustrations, we can see that this compound was formerly surrounded by a moat, constructed for defense purposes. This moat is now partly vanished and what remains is its southern and western part only; the other parts are covered by mud.

The compound of the Grand Mosque was built by the native architects during the reign of Sultan Maulana



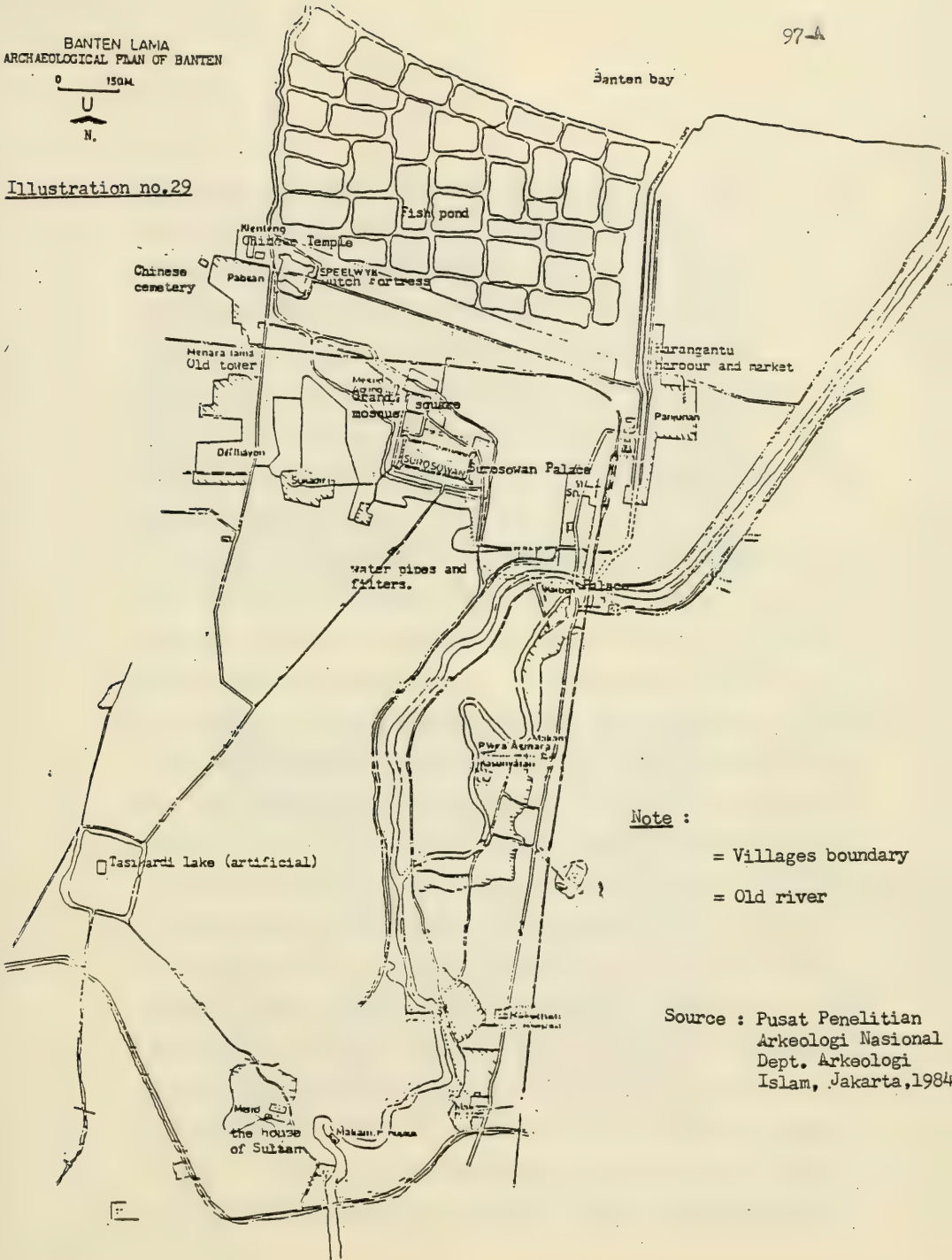
BANTEN LAMA  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL PLAN OF BANTEN

0 150M.



97-4

Illustration no.29



Note :

= Villages boundary

= Old river

Source : Pusat Penelitian  
Arkeologi Nasional  
Dept. Arkeologi  
Islam, Jakarta, 1984





Hasanuddin in 1552 and continued by Maulana Yusuf. Similar to other mosques, as a local type used in other sites surrounding the Banten region, it also approximated the Sendangduwur mosque in Kudus and the old mosque of Cirebon. The ground plan of the mosque is a square. It has a roof with five tiers. The galleries on the left and right sides of the building were built at a later period. In the gallery on the left, we see many tombs of some Sultans and their families (photo. 1 and 2).

There is an additional building called "Tihamah" in the south part of the mosque compound. This building was formerly used as a meeting place, particularly to discuss some religious matters. This two story building was built by a Dutch architect named Hendrick Lucaz Kardeel during the Sultan Haji period. The architecture of this building is not the same as the mosque type; it looks like a European style. Now it is used for collecting the property of the Sultans, and as a small museum, it displays a few artifacts. In the period under review, this monument of Tihamah which was built mainly of brick and wood has suffered serious damage. The Grand Mosque, galleries and Tihamah have had their roofs damaged, and on days of heavy rain not a single building has escaped water dripping inside. Load-bearing structures of brick and timber have been further weakened and this has led to roof damage. Foundations and floors of the two buildings have cracked or sunk. White ants and



Photo no. 1.

The Grand Mosque of Old Banten nad it's compound.  
 Photographed by author.

Photo no. 2Photo no. 2

The graves of some  
 Sultans of Banten  
 and their families.

This photo is taken  
 from "west Java  
 Golden Visage", 1985  
 photographed by  
 Yanto and friends.



termites have done further damage to the wood. The Grand Mosque is leaking in several places, and some of its pillars have been spoiled. On the second floor of the Tihamah, serious damage has been done to the southwest corner; two of the large columns have been affected by termites, and the flooring tiles are loose. More clay tiles have been found missing and new cracks and sinking have been seen. Certain parts of the two-story pavilion have been completely ruined despite the installation of protective corrugated-iron covering after 85% of the damage was estimated in 1980. The sewage system and roof drain have been damaged, and the roof cover affected by dripping water, and also the left side of the pavilion has collapsed completely. The physical condition of these buildings which are damaged and some of them have collapsed, was found during my field research last summer, 1986, within the study of this area. I intend to prepare a proposal for the restoration of all these monuments.

"Watu Gigilang" and "Watu Sinayaksa" are the names of the two stones, squared with flat upper surfaces about 125 meters long and 60 cm wide. One lies in front of the Surosoan palace, and the other further north on the east side of the alun-alun or square. Although their appearance is unprepossessing, they were extremely significant symbols of royalty for Banten and Indonesians in general. These two artifacts may be called "investiture stones"; they played an





Photo no. 3

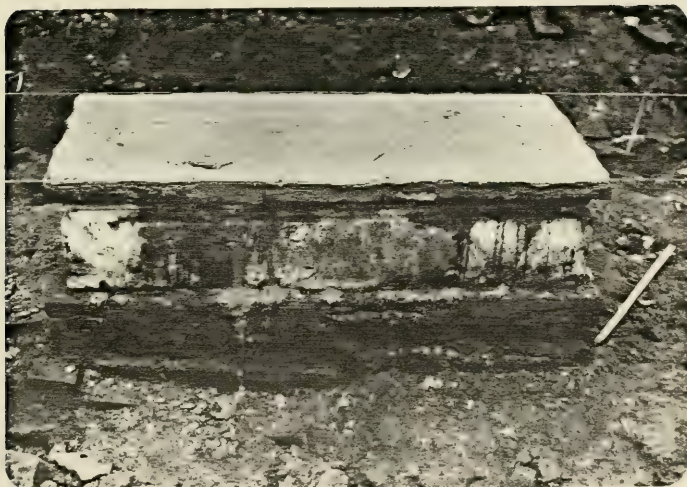
The Investiture stone "Watu Gilang"



photographed  
by author.

Photo no. 4

The Investiture stone "Sinayaksa"



photographed  
by author.





important symbolic role in Banten's public ceremonies (photo. 3 and 4). To appreciate the nature of this role, we must explore a particular aspect of the Indonesian concept of royalty and the connection between this abstraction and the construction of stone seats which were used from prehistoric times until the Islamic period, from Sumatra to Moluccas. According to tradition, one watu gigilang which later on was called "watu gilang" was brought from Pakuan Pajajaran to Banten by Hasanuddin as a symbol of conquest; if it was to be moved again, the kingdom itself would be overthrown.<sup>1</sup>

"Ki Amuk" is an enormous bronze cannon which stands on the southern part of the alun-alun of Old Banten, 10 meters southwest of Watu gilang (photo. 5). The cannon has been moved several times in history. The first citation Ki Amuk is found on a map which is thought to date from between 1636 and 1651; it was then located at one end of the road from Paseban to the eastern city gate. It was then in the Candi Raras area, between the eastern Pabean (Karangantu) and Siti Luhur (the eastern gate of the palace), east of Made Bobot, in a mandapa, pointing north. A cannon called Ki Jimat, which may or may not have been the same piece, stood on an elevation at the same location under some angsook trees.<sup>2</sup> The large cannon observed at Karangantu by Hesse in 1683 was probably Ki Amuk. A Dutch man, Wouter Schouten, who walked around Karangantu in 1667, was stopped by Banten men and



Photo no. 5

The Bronze Cannon "Ki Amuk" photographed by Yanto



Photo no. 6

A Chinese house  
located in China-town  
photographed by author.



told that he could not walk there; this may have been because he was too close to the sacred Ki Amuk.<sup>3</sup> One of the cannons, called "Ki Jagri" or "Ki Yai Sentama", was given to Cirebon. It is now located on the north side of the square in front of the Jakarta Kota museum. It bears a Latin inscription: *Ex me ipsa renata sum* ("I was born of myself"); it may indicate that the metal used in its casting was obtained by melting down an older cannon.<sup>4</sup> Ki Amuk, as the holy cannon, has three high medallions on the top of the barrel with Arabic inscriptions. One, at the touch-hole, reads *"la fata illa 'Ali rudiya 'alayhi la saifa illa Dhu 'l-fikhor illa huwa lam yakun lahu kufuan ahad"*, meaning "There is no hero but Ali, Allah is pleased to give him no sword but Dhu 'l-fikhor; its equal does not exist." Two other inscriptions are found on the trunions and at the mouth. They contain an identical text: *"Akibatul Khairi salamu 'l-imani"* ("The best result, the best outcome") is the salvation of faith.

Pacinan Tinggi was the name of Chinatown (Pa-Cina-an or Chinese quarter). It was located near the shore on the west side of Speelwijk across the canal. This Chinatown is, for the most part, built of brick. Every house has a square and flat roof, some of them having boards and small timbers or split canes over-cross, on which were laid bricks and sand to defend them from fire. Over these brick warehouses were set the shades built up with great canes and thatched, and



some were built up with small timbers but the greatest number with canes only. When Edmund Scot came to Banten and saw the Chinese activities here in Chinatown, February, 1602 until the first of October 1605, he saw that many men of wealth had built their houses to the top all fire free, of which this sort of house at the time of his coming all belonged to the rich China merchant houses.<sup>5</sup>

This Chinatown had become ruins since Old Banten was finally moved to Serang city under the direct control of the Dutch government. Only one house with its gardens was still maintained by the owner Pi-Cis (photo. 6). 500 meters to the south of Pi-Cis' house, across the railway train, there is a ruin of an old mosque which is called "Pacinan Tinggi" mosque. In the front yard on the left of this mosque, one of the oldest minarets is still standing, and it has been restored by the Banten Project of archaeological restoration in 1984 (photo. 7).

The Kaibon Palace is located in the village of Kroya about 1 km to the south of Surosowan palace. This palace was the residence of Ratu A'isyah (queen), the mother of Sultan Syafi'uddin. The condition of this palace now is in ruins. The name Kaibon was derived from the word "Ka-ibu-an" namely Ratu A'isyah, but unfortunately, the palace which was built in 1809 was destroyed by the Dutch East Indies Government in 1832 along with the abolishment of all sultanates of Banten. The bricks and other building





materials still could be used were moved to the town of Serang and utilized to build the residential monuments and other government buildings. This site has been excavated totally which is planned to be restored by the Preservation Project of Old Banten (photo 8).

Speelwijk, the old Dutch fortress is located in the north of Surosowan Palace, made of rock and brick (red and yellow brick). It was built by Hendrick Lucasz Kardell in the 17th century. The name of Speelwijk was related to the commemoration of Governor General Speelman in Batavia, in 1685. Outside the fortress there was a surrounding canal, and in east side, there is a grave yard for Europeans, including Dutch, who died in the battle against the soldiers of Banten. This site is only a ruin, partially excavated and soon to be restored by the Development Project of Old Banten (photo 9).

The artificial lake "Tasikardi" is derived from the word Tasik, which means lake, and the Arabic word ardi, meaning earth, or kardi meaning man-made. Its width is approximately four hectares, and there is a square formed as an island built in the center of the lake (photo 10). It is located in the south-west of Surosowan, and is fed through terracotta pipes and pangindelan system (possibly a filtering or pumping system) at three locations, "pangindelan aban", "pangindelan putih", and "penjaringan emas". This lake was first restored in 1932, and





Photo no. 7.

"Menara Lama" one of the  
oldest towers which has  
not completely restored,  
photographed by author.

Photo no. 8. Kaibon Palace, now is in ruins ( photographed by author ).







MRT 54

Photo no.9

The corner part  
of Speelwijk  
Fortress which  
built by Hendrik  
Lucasz Kardeel in  
1685 A.D.

Photographed by  
author.



JAN 54

Photo no.10

The Lake Tasikardi  
and there is a  
square formed as  
an island built  
in the center of  
this artificial  
lake.

Photographed by  
author.



rehabilitated as a recreational place in 1952 by the Regional Government of the Regency of Serang.

We still find many monuments and sites which are in good condition, such as the Koja settlements, the tomb of Sultan Maulana Yusuf, Kenari Mosque and its grave yard (including the tombs of Sultan Abdul Mufakhir Mahmud Abdul Kadir, Sultan Ma'ali Akhmad, and several other Moslems of Banten). All these sites are still well maintained.

Many artifacts found in the vicinity of ancient Banten city can be dated to the neolithic and Hindu periods. Odel, for example, is a neolithic site located on the bank of the Cibanten river, approximately one km south of the Kaibon Palace. The stratigraphy of this site is clearly discernable. An upper layer 20 cm thick contains chinese pottery dated to between 1600-1800 A.D., along with many Bantenese bronze and tin coins. The lower layer (about 45 cm thick) contains a neolithic habitation deposit. The main classes of artifacts recovered from this deposits were obsidian flakes and blades, quadrangular adzes, and undecorated potsherds. Some of the stone tools were made of grey-blue shale, and were found in all stages of manufacture, indicating the presence of a workshop site. Other tools included long and short single-edged obsidian flakes, classifiable as knives. Through analysis of the soil, this layer should prove to be very young, geologically, perhaps no older than 1000 years.





The site of Banten Girang is of interest, as it sheds some light on the early history of Banten. This site is located at the bank of the Banten river 12 km south of Old Banten (500 meters from the road to Pandeglang). It covers approximately 10 hectares of land, extending to the north approximately 440 meters, and to the west, approximately 330 meters. This site's cultural layers seem to have been greatly disturbed; there are seven small houses within the confines of the settlement, all of which have been built within the last 15 years.

A further physical feature of the site is the existence of the so-called "guha Banten" (photo 11). This is not as the name might suggest, a natural cave (guha), but a series of three rectangular chambers cut into the west bank of Banten river at the foot of the bank. It is situated immediately to the north of a fjord which affords access to the site from the eastern bank of the river. During my surface survey of this site last summer, 1986, accompanied by John. N. Micsik, we found flakes, stone adzes, and chinese ceramic (a range of ceramic material dating from perhaps Tang dynasty up to Ching period). On the upper part of guha Banten, we can see the five-steps of a stone pyramid, called "batu undak". We also found near this pyramid, the local ceramics, which ranged from prehistoric to modern in date. The recent discovery of no less than 15 broken quadarangular stone adzes, recovered as surface finds





Photo no. 11

"Guha Banten" is a series of three rectangular chambers cut into the west bank of Banten river at the foot of the bank.

This photo is taken from unpublished manuscript "The introduction of the archaeological sites in West Java" ( Site Museum, 1985), written and photographed by Halwany Michrob.



Photo no. 12

Karangantu harbour, one of the oldest port in west Java.

Photographed by author.



following seasonal cultivation just to the north and to the south of the centre of the site suggests that Banten Girang has been inhabited for a considerable period, and certainly well before the advent of foreign trade ceramics in this area.<sup>7</sup>

Karangantu harbour is very close to the beach of the gulf of Banten, and at present is utilized as a harbour and a fishing trade center of the Regency of Serang (photos 12 and 13). The reconstruction was carried out by the Military Resort Command 064/ Maulana Yusuf in cooperation with the local Government of Serang Regency. Karangantu is the oldest harbour in Java, and during the past it was visited by many ships from Persia, India, China, Southeast Asia, and Europe, thanks to trade relations with the Sultanates of Banten. Artifacts from this site include not objects from the time of the Sultanates, but also some suggesting that Banten was already well occupied during prehistoric times as well. Unfortunately, these finds are surface finds, and so in an undateable context. Also, the previously mentioned "nandi" of the Hindu period was found at during the 1906 canal digging at Karangantu harbour.<sup>8</sup> This statue of a bull (photo 14), Siva's vehicle, suggests that a Hindu temple stood here before Banten's conversion to Islam in 1525. The Portuguese noted that temples in West Java or Sunda were made of wood, so no trace of them has yet been found.

By the archaeological evidence, Banten was inhabited





Photo no. 13  
photographed by  
author.

The Karangantu beach are covered with mud, the sediment causes at present is a local harbour and a fishing trade center of the region of Serang Regency.



Photo no. 14

The statue of a bull "nandi" which was found at Karangantu in 1906, now is preserved at Site Museum Banten.

The photo is taken from unpublished manuscript, written and photographed by Halwany Michrob, "The Introduction of the archaeological sites in West Java" ( Site Museum, 1985 )





long before it became a city, as prehistoric and Hindu-type artifacts show. Previously, the center power in the Banten area was located at Wahanten Girang (Banten Girang), on the fringe of Serang Town, ruled by Pucuk Umun.<sup>9</sup> The city was sometimes called Surosowan, with the palace as its center after its conquest by Maulan Hasanuddin in 1525-1526. Surosowan reached the peaks of development in shipping, agriculture and international trade under the sultanates of Banten.

### 3.2 Past Conditions of the Ancient City

The Banten site, is the earliest documented urban site in one of the most densely populated parts of the world. It is one of the oldest and of the oldest, one of the most famous, not only of Java, but of all Southeast Asia. But historical sources do not allow us to reconstruct the stages of development in any detail. Archaeology gives us regrettably little data from the pre-Islamic period with which to compare later sites. Banten Girang covers no more than about twenty hectares, and is located on a hillock surrounded on three sides by a high steep river bank, on the fourth by an earth wall and moat. It is the earliest evidence of a second-level settlement in the Banten area, but is sufficiently different in scale, choice of location, and apparently layout from Old Banten (Banten Lama) to



demonstrate that it is not a lineal predecessor of Old Banten. No studies have been performed on pre-Islamic period local pottery; however earthenware sherds, some with carved paddle markings, were recovered during an excavation at the site of Banten Girang (upstream from Banten), in association with 13th - 15th century Chinese, Thai, and Vietnamese ceramics,<sup>10</sup> suggesting that some of the carved paddle-marked sherds at Old Banten can be tentatively assigned to the same phase. And discoveries on the site have included several artifacts dateably to the 15th century including Hindu-Buddhist statuary and Thai ceramics. Further analysis of the sherds to assign them to a specific reign where possible, must be carried out before the data can shed light on the evolution of the settlement. No architecture or local documentary sources date this period, particularly the site of Odel, though a glance at a map of sailing routes quickly illustrates the potentially strategic value of a settlement at this location.

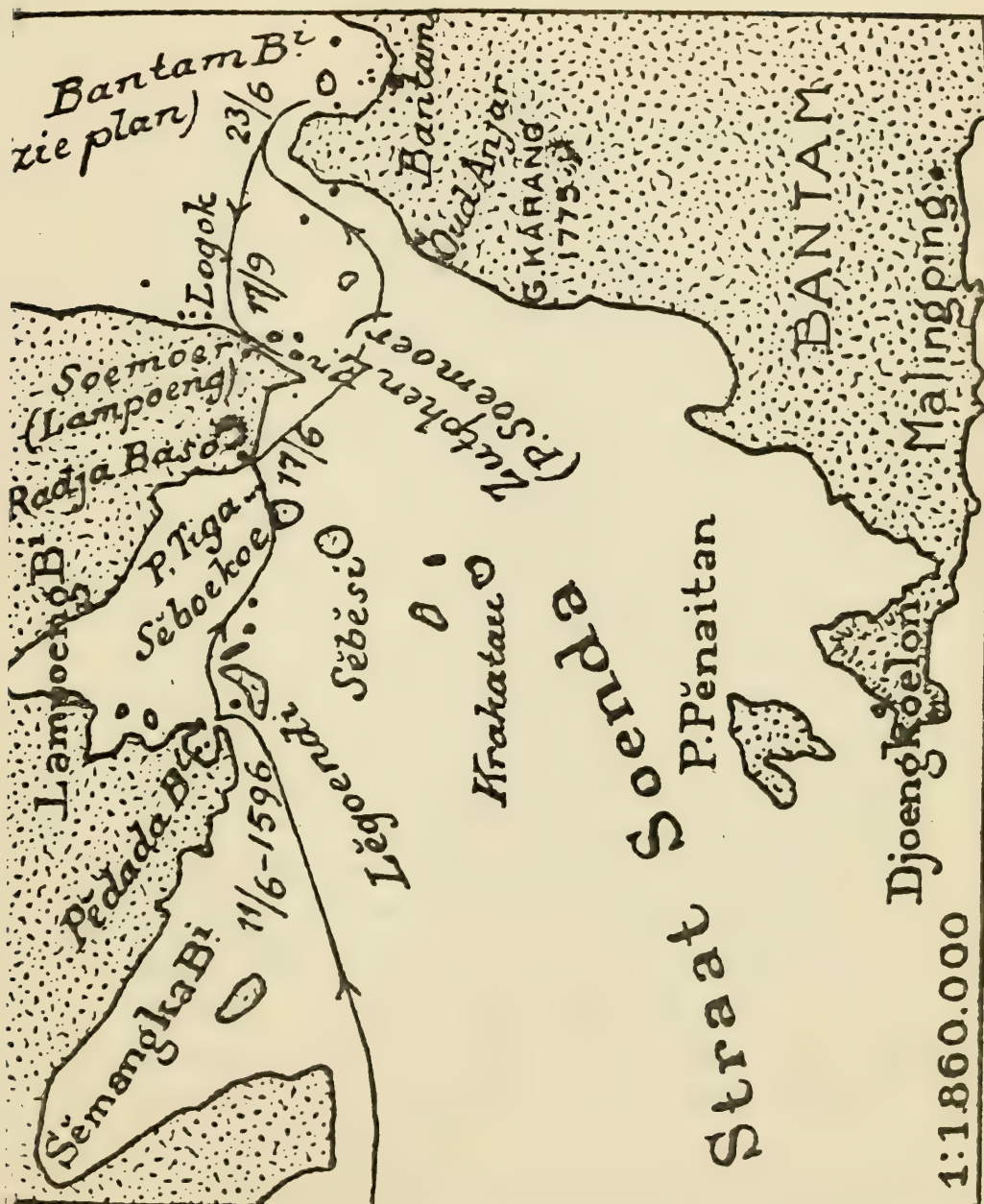
### 3.2.1 Survey of Written Documents

The earliest detailed descriptions of Banten yet published were written by the first Dutch and English visitors who began to arrive in 1596 (III. 30). Possibly archives in Portugal or elsewhere contain older manuscripts, but if so they still lie undiscovered. When we obtain out



## Illustration no. 30

The Sketch map of de Houtman's arrival in Banten in 1596 A.D.





first glimpse of the city, therefore, it had already been Moslem for 70 years, and had grown from a secondary port of the kingdom of Pajajaran to a major international market-place, an emporium where foreign traders formed a significant part of the population, and where foreign trade was the principal reason for the existence of the settlement.

Like many Islamic cities, Southeast Asian and European City of the time, Old Banten was surrounded by a wall, the dimensions of which are not clear; it was said to be either two or six feet thick, and made of brick.<sup>11</sup> The wall was clearly for defense, for atop it was perched a cannon, and watchtowers were erected above it at various points. To enter the city, therefore, one had to pass through one of the gates provided at various points. These gates were apparently not of imposing size or construction; indeed they were said to be "wretched...but so vigilantly guarded would be hard to approach without notice".<sup>12</sup> There were at least three: one on the south, one on the west, called the Mountain Gate (facing Mount Gede), and one on the north, Watergate. The walls were well kept up in 1596 in expectation of an attack from Mataram; by 1598, however, when that threat had receded, the walls were neglected and had even begun to collapse.<sup>13</sup>

Within the walls, there were three main roads, but these were not paved and therefore were usually muddy.





However, all parts of the city were accessible by perahu (ship),<sup>14</sup> which provided a very efficient means of transport for people and goods. This system of internal water transport was connected to the rivers which flowed on both the east and west sides of the city. Access to the water-borne transport network was also controlled via bamboo booms which were lowered at night. There were a few bridges across the rivers: one at Karanguantu, on the east side of the city, and one crossing the river near the main mosque, called "jembatan rante" (chain bridge), with ends made of stone. A system of ferries for crossing the rivers also existed, but these were withdrawn at night as a security measure.<sup>15</sup>

The center of the city was devoted to a large open field called "alun-alun". Numerous activities were conducted upon the alun-alun, including meetings of the royal council, sessions of the law court, and various other public displays. In the morning the alun-alun was also used for a market. The royal palace lay directly on the south side of the alun-alun. A raised and roofed platform was usually erected on the side near the palace, to be used by the king when giving audience, or those awaiting the king; it was called the "srimanganti". On the west stood the preincipal mosque. The "shahbandar"s " residence occupied the eastern side, and the northern fringe was bounded by a river. The northeast corner of the alun-alun, on the bank of the river,



was occupied by protective atap roofs, under which were kept many war perahu, some "fusta". and several large galleys.<sup>16</sup> A source of 1680 mentioned that Sultan Agung Tirtayasa had 25 vessels propelled by rowers.<sup>17</sup> The King's elephant was also stabled nearby.

The "Serjarah Banten" (history of Banten) contains a description of the alun-alun which may apply to this period:

Beginning from the main entrance to the palace and proceeding outward the following buildings were found: Made Bahan, where the troops stood guard, Made Mundu and Made Gayam, next Siti Lhur, with another building nearby for storing weapons and occasionally the royal horses; then Pakombalan, a quardpost for "wong gunung", people from the hinterland; northwest of there was a market and to the west a mosque. Near there was a large bridge of teak crossing the river, from which led the road with twin fence northward to the fort. The inner fort was called Lawang Saemi. To the west was a large beringin tree and not far from there was the form Sampar Lebu.

In the rainy season and traditional period, the "manteri" and "pongawa" were in the sawah. During this time audiences were seldom held. When audiences took place, no-one was allowed to stand where the hot sunshine would strike them, so they all had to sit close together. The Sultan would first ask his pongawa about their property, and about commerce in the markets and port. Next he would ask about the news from areas beyond Banten, including Makasar, Jambi, Palembang, Jogor, Malaka, Aceh, Matarm, and Jaketra. Then they would discuss legal affairs. Finally they would discuss the condition of the country in general, have a meal, talk informally a moment, after which the sultan would retire to his palace.

On one occasion the sultan went especially to inspect the sawah (ricefield), and had a big rice storehouse built on the alun-alun.<sup>18</sup>

Various public entertainments were also held on the



alun-alun. In 1605, the boy ruler Abulmafachir, then ten years old, was circumcized. As part of the celebrations, a mock storming of a fort was conducted together by Javanese, Dutch, and English troops. Trees were hung with real and make-believe birds. Other military amusements remebbling jousts or tournaments were also held on the alun-alun.<sup>17</sup>

Sir Stamford Raffles found that tournaments were still "a favourite and constant diversion with the Javans" in the early nineteenth century. They were held in the alun-alun of the Javanese courts, also on Saturdays, and were also an occasion for the rulers to appear in public. The weapons used consisted of long blunt spears held by riders mounted on horses with heavy saddlkes and bridles and sharp bits, and rich trappings. Seldom were men unhorsed.<sup>20</sup>

From the alun-alun, the jembatan rante (chain bridge) led further north to the manors of Pangeran Gebang (officer commanding the local garrison), the Laksamana (commander of the fleet), and the nobility. The nature of these manors was described in detail by Willem Lodewyksz, one of the participants in the first Dutch voyage of 1596:

Each nobleman has ten or twelve men watching in his house throughout the night. When you enter their houses, you must first encounter a square area they call Facebam (Javanese paseban), where they give audience to those who seek it, and ther the above-mentioned guard is placed, under a hut roofed with reeds, or palm leaves, under which they also hold audience. In a corner of this square they also have their own mosque, where they perform thier mid-day prayer, and beside it a well, where they wash. Going further in, one comes to a door with a narrow passage,



which is strengthened with many stores and ships, in which many of their slaves live for their protection so that they cannot be attacked by their enemies at night. Their houses are built upon four, eight, or ten pillars of wood, beautifully carved, being covered with palmleaves above, and left completely open below to enjoy the coolness. They have no upper rooms or attics on which they can lie, but only on the warehouse, which is a brick house one story high, without windows.<sup>21</sup>

This description applies not only to the residences of the nobles, but in general to the disposition of the entire settlement. The northern area was devoted to noble compounds, but there was another large residential area on the east side of the city. Each section of the city was called a "kampung" or a village and enclosed with wooden or baboo walls, and supervised by an official whose duties included directing the inhabitants during emergencies such as war or fire.

The palace, alun-alun, and mosque formed a group with a fixed spatial relationship here in Banten during the sultanate periods. Further, there was only one market within the city walls; it was held at Paseban, on the northern side of the alun-alun, near the juembatan rante, until noon. A larger market was held in the eastern (moslem) quarter, or Karangantu, until 9 a.m. Small pepper buyers waited here for local farmers to bring in their produce. There were also many money-lenders here including rich Javanese, Malays, and Kelings (Tamils), who made contracts with Abyssinians who had no capital, through an arrangement called "bottomry". It involved a sort of credit



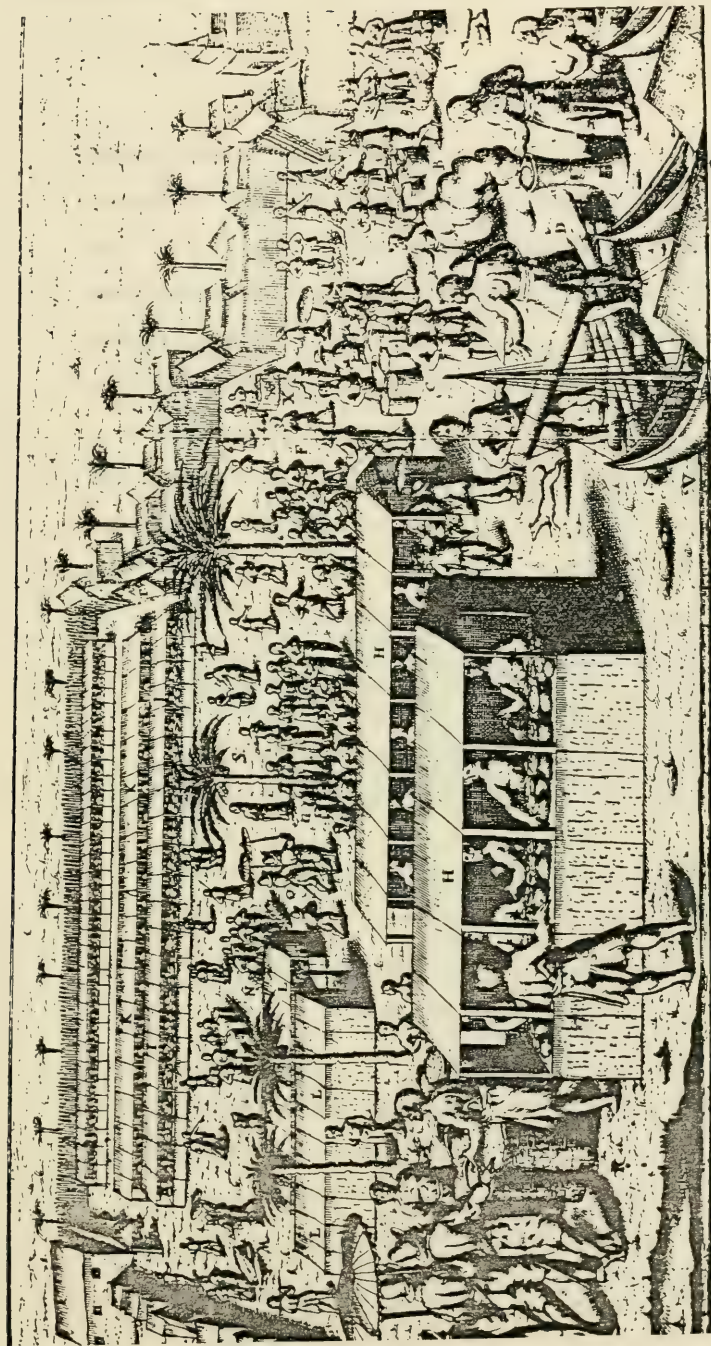


scheme whereby the Abyssinians would be provided with a certain amount of merchandise which they would then take to other markets outside Banten (in the "bottoms" of ships). After a certain time they would promise to return to Banten. If the venture had been successful, it was usual to repay double the amount lent; but if the cargo was lost, through shipwreck for example, the lender absorbed the loss.<sup>22</sup> It was said that Banten merchants themselves seldom went abroad, instead lending funds to merchants from other places who would then do the retail distribution.<sup>23</sup>

Small stalls were also set up in the Karangantu market, where foreigners could buy necessities such as food ;and weapons such as "keris". In addition to soap, butter, and earthenware, Gujaratis also brought 20 different kinds of cloth. Bengalis sold wheat, butter, sugar, and rice; Burmese also offered rice, martavan jars, salt, and onion; and Thais, in addition to rice, provided tin and copper. Arabs and persians were known for their gems and medicine; one Persian was the most famous doctor in the city.<sup>24</sup> They also bought pepper to resell to the Chinese. Other Indian merchants, mainly from Cambay, had stalls selling glass, ivory, and gems.<sup>25</sup>

Many of the local participants in the trade at the Karangantu market were women. According to de Houtman, they





According to Anthony Reid, "the market at Bantam (Banten), a woodcut first published in 1598, reproduced from *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders Naar Oost-Indië* onder Corneius de Houtman ('s-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhof). The author says it was probably done by someone who had not been to the East. The key describes the various vendors, of sugar and honey, beans, bamboos, weapons, cloth, pepper, onions and leeks, melons, jewellery, poultry. In the foreground are shown boats from the foreign ships, with various edibles; in the background are the rows of stalls run by Chinese, while Bengali and Gujarati traders from India are shown". Anthony Reid, "Southeast Asian Cities before Colonialism" *Southeast Asian Studies*, 1985 p. 146. The picture is reprinted by Halwany Mochrob (cf. Mollema, J.C. *De Eerste Schipvaart der Hollanders naar Oost-Indië 1595-1597*, 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1936).



bought pepper from farmers, sold fruit, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, and other spices, and hot cakes. In case of fire, the fire brigades were composed of women, without any assistance from the men, who were busy guarding their houses against robbery. In fact, it was estimated that nine-tenths of the population of Banten were female (ill. 31).<sup>26</sup>

The Karangantu market was the largest, and was in fact the center where most import and export trade was conducted. As van Leur described it:

"Here, then, was the exchange, the meeting place of merchant gentlemen and ships captains. The fair of the western European middle ages and the exchange of the western European early capitalist period were as it were brought together on the market field at Bantam. But...in Asia, as the staple port here illustrates, the fair remained dominant in international trade as an annual market lasting half a year, and the exchange was absorbed in it."<sup>27</sup>

A third market was held in the Chinese quarter (Pacinan), and was open all day. Here also were sold daily necessities: rice, imported from Makassar and Sumbawa, together with coconuts and oil, and salt from various coastal salt pans, most of them on northeast Java. The salt was re-exported to Palembang and "the much more important Pariaman".<sup>28</sup> The Chinese sold silk and other fabrics, copper pots, mercury, boxes, paper, gold, mirrors, combs, eyeglasses, sulphur, Chinese swords, herbs, fans, umbrellas, salt, porcelain, and gold thread.<sup>29</sup>

In 1596 Banten was a rich city, linked to all major





trading nations of Asia and Europe, with a heterogeneous polyglot population and sophisticated financial activity, historians have not been unanimous in ascribing Banten's wealth to trade. Van Luer concluded that the nobility's power did not derive from commerce, but from their revenue collected from their agrarian possessions in the hinterland, worked by the people, and taxes from villages. Trade would have formed only a secondary source of income, along with rental of land and houses in the city.<sup>30</sup> According to Breughel in 1787, the majority of the houses in Banten were then owned by the Sultan.<sup>31</sup>

In 1694, Valentijn visited Banten; his account is worth reproducing here.

I have seen the city in 1694, when I left home, and spent a day and a night there, in order to witness its beauty and to supplement my lack of knowledge about the city concerning which I had heard so much, although I found myself disappointed in my expectations. I was very kindly received by the Director there, Mr. Wanderpoel, who invited me to his table and house in Fort Speelwijk, and I also found there D. Costerus and his wife taking advantage of it. I had gone there principally to see whether there was any opportunity to obtain audience with the King, and to see this ruler; but it was impossible that day as my Captain Cuffelen said, who was then staying in the King's castle, and since the fleet was to leave that night, I could stay no longer. I finally found, as I went around the city, Fort Speelwijk lying at the mouth of river, which although not large is however in a position to control the whole city.

At first it was but a common sea-point protecting the boom. In 1680 it was surrounded with some palisades, and then had but the aspect of a customary Fagar; but in 1686 it was protected with a stone wall, and later by a square each side of which is 30 rods long. It is now rectangular, has a very high wall, four points, and two half-moons, which look very fine. It has a high "cat"





with five, and a large battery with ten pieces, with which all our other works in the city can be controlled, as also the soth and east corners of the bulwarks are also well-provided with cannon. The Director has a fine dwelling on the cat, with can be reached by some stairs, and from a fine view of the sea is had. Below along the curtain of the east side live the chief factor, fiscal, and other servants, in reasonably good houses, and further along a wide plain around which are many storehouses to keep the goods of the East Company. It was named Speelwijik (as men say) after the Governor General Speelman.<sup>32</sup>

So, the Dutch in 1684 constructed their own fort near the mouth of the river on the northwest of the citty. It rests directly on top of the remains of the city wall in this sector, thereby preserving the only remains yet discovered. Dutch contact altered the city's form in several ways. A Dutch renegade, Hendrik Lucaszoon Cardeel, a mason by trade, entered the service of Sultan Haji in 1675, embraced Islam, and was given a concubine of the Sultan in marriage. It is likely that he was involved in structural changes which took place in the construction of the wall surrounding the palace around this time, including the use of sand-lime mortar. It seems that the shape of the palace compound also changed at this time, from the square pictured on early maps to the present rectangle with long sides running east and west. He is also connected by tradition with "Tihamah" in European style beside the Grand Mosque.<sup>33</sup>

A number of important physical changes took place in the late 1600's, both before and after the civil war between



Sultans Haji and Agung Tirtayasa. The Dutch obtained a house at Pabean barat, next to the English, which had formerly belonged to the Dutch.<sup>34</sup>

Valentijn cited "Herbert in 1678, and many other reports" which gave Banten's dimensions as "two English miles long" before the civil war. Further he states:

Upon entering the city I found it very untidy and without any order, having on the seaside a reasonably high and thick wall with some bastions of which that of Carangantu is the Principal one, also built in a square of stone, equipped with 10 pieces. The six largest are seen on the seaside, the three smallest on the west, and one to the east. There is also a large stone draw-bridge over a river there.

There are three main streets all of which lead to Paseban, with many coconut and other trees there. The Chinese district on the west side of the city, and also the residences of the Europeans there, lay somewhat to the side, and somewhat separated from the city, where at midday a great market is held. If there were no Chinese and their shops in the city, it would be very dull, although there is another market somewhat further from paseban, but it only lasts three hours, and another particularly for local produce. On the seaside live fishermen in rude huts, and if one calculates the whole length of the city on this side, it covers no more than a quarter of a mile.

On the inland side the whole city lies open, and unprotected. After the fishermen's dwellings on the shore are also some saltpans where salt is made. Chinese, Guzerattees, Persians, Turks, Armenians, Venetians, English, Dutch, and many others which mainly trade in gambier, for the pepper belongs to the company alone. There you have the old illustrious city in its glory, which is not worthy of the name although I believe that in 1680 when the old King burnt it, it lost much of its old luster. This can be seen further in the map; but most of that no longer exists, being only to show how it has been.<sup>35</sup>

He estimated that Banten's population at the time of his



visit, just 12 years after the war, was 8,170 families. This must indicate a major decrease in the city's population from its height under Sultan Agung Tirtayasa. The subsidiary palace complex at Tirtayasa (Pontang) had about 6,000 people. Batavia he estimated was more than twice as populous (19,370).<sup>36</sup>

A badly-damaged manuscript dating from 1694, now in Holland, contains the first recorded systematic enumeration of population from Banten. The census was found among the archives of the Banten sultanate, and was performed at the order of Sultan Abdul Mahasin Muhannad Jenul Ngabidin. The population is divided up among categories such as "Royal servants who produce as regular tribute the King's food (rice)"; "the headmen (jaro)"; "the young men (not fully qualified as members of the community)"; "the assimilated, originally belonging to another community"; "the invalid (and old)", many of whom are listed by name. The manuscript is said to furnish much other information on seventeenth-century Banten, and gives a total of 31,848 "men of Surosowan", although in fact some of the people named as heads of families may have been women.<sup>37</sup> The female population of the city may still have been large; the palace was said to contain 1200 concubines in 1692. In comparison, Surabaya in the early seventeenth century may have had 50,000 to 60,000 total inhabitants, and Jepara, 100,000.<sup>38</sup>

Another census was conducted a few years later. The



exact date of the manuscript containing the record of this enumeration is not known, but may have been 1708 or 1715. The same format as the earlier report is used, but the total this time is greater; 36,302 men.<sup>39</sup> In 1706 a walk through the city took two hours.<sup>40</sup>

Old Banten went through a number of physical changes during the eighteenth century which altered its appearance in different but no less important ways than after the civil war of 1682. The water transport system in the city was still important; a groom travelled to the house of his bride by boat. In 1702 the river mouth was enclosed by a row of wooden stakes extending out into the bay. In 1769 Stavorus found the stakes led all the way up the river to Speelwijk, which were not maintained although useful to prevent silting. In 1787 ships (perahus) with draughts of five to six feet, which had been able to enter the river with ease five years earlier, could not enter now unless the passengers got out and pushed it over muddy spots.<sup>41</sup>

The process of coastal accretion may already have begun; the stakes parallel to the shore erected in the early 1600's, if not removed (an act of which there is no record), would have altered the ocean currents along the shore and trapped the silt transported by the three rivers which traversed Old Banten. The current of the rivers would have been slowed by the need to travel a greater distance before discharging their water into the sea; this would have





speeded up sedimentation in the river beds themselves. By 1769 Speelwijk was already 80 roods or 1/4 hour's walk from the river mouth.<sup>42</sup> The rivers may have been purposely neglected during the eighteenth century, because their navigability was becoming less important to the city's internal traffic. In 1739 part of a road near the palace was brick surfaced "for the comfort of the Raja". The city wall which was in good condition in 1596 appears to have been allowed to decay progressively. The section along the shore was kept up the longest, but by 1702 had almost disappeared, and was invisible in 1769. The residential quarters of the indigenous inhabitants of the city do not seem to have changed very much. Only a few houses had tile roofs in 1694; in 1769 visitors to Old Banten were still said to have felt themselves to be in a coconut grove rather than in a city. The houses were still grouped in compounds separated from those of their neighbors by fences of split bamboo, and no overall plan dictated the disposition of the structures. There were however some new additions to the old pattern. By 1739 two groups of European houses had sprung up, one on the left bank of the Cipeurey in front of Speelwijk, near a Royal Pepper Warehouse; and another along a small road in front of the suspension bridge near the fort, where there were 31 houses for Dutch officials and citizens. At the end of the road was a large building, the yard of which was the chief



administrator's garden. Chinese had begun to settle at Karangantu during the 1700's, in the district formerly devoted to west Asian Moslems. There was still a Kampung Arab (Arabic Village) between Karangantu and the palace in 1787. However, by that time 4/5 of the Chinese houses there were said to be empty. The economic attraction of Batavia was becoming strong, so the Banten was gradually being reduced to the status of a provincial settlement.<sup>43</sup>

The political and military events of the Napoleonic wars, British occupation, and reimposition of Dutch rule took their course, so that the settlement gradually declined to the status of a village. In 1795 the population of the Banten district was estimated at 90,000 out of a total population for all Java of 3.5 million. This is probably an underestimate, but nevertheless reflects the decline in Banten's importance. Old Banten's population in 1985 totalled 13,741 people.<sup>44</sup>

#### Analyses of the Old Maps and Aerial Photography

The main objective of recording of Old Banten, is to relate the new finds to their spatial setting, to firstly place the unknown within the realm of the known. Usually, this involves plotting on pre-existing maps or aerial photographs. We should bear in mind, however, that landscapes change; sites have been lost when their verbal



reference points were destroyed. As a general rule, the more locational data supplied, the greater the chance that the site will be found again. Location is most commonly recorded by plotting on a map or aerial photo, and should be compared to old maps which were informed about the contemporary situation. Further, it should be analyzed by a magnetic location which is used to find buried features such as iron objects, fired clay furnaces, pottery kilns, hearths, and pits filled with rubbish or softer soil. Magnetic detection has been used to record pits, walls, and other features of Old Banten during the geological exploration by geologists from Gajah Mada University led by Dr. Sutikno in 1985, although it was subject to some error because of such modern features as barbed wire fences, electric trains, and electric cables (photos 15 and 16).

Aerial photography is useful in a number of ways, first it provides data for preliminary analysis of the local environment and its resources, second, it yields information on site location. Areas of luxuriant growth are usually darker than contrasting poor growth areas; other archaeological features retard the growth of overlying vegetation.<sup>45</sup> The primary objective is to set a guide line on research methods on old maps and aerial photography, and to come up with a definite plan of action based on archaeological works. The emphasis of these methods are on the principles of the evaluative analysis of the conditions



of the Banten sites and monuments through documentary research.

The simplest maps, and the quickest ones to understand, are sketch maps which were found in many different kinds of written descriptions of the Banten sites. Further, we can analyse the site by using a surface survey to a variety of methods used to acquire data from the sites without excavation.<sup>46</sup> The next comprehensive view of Banten is provided by an old map of Banten made by Cornelis de Houtman, who arrived in Banten on June 23, 1596 (ill. 32). He was received with due respect by Sultan Muhammad Pangeran Ratu ing Banten.<sup>47</sup> This map depicts Banten in 1598, which show clearly the town's enclosing wall of brick. The picture shows the palace and the mosque in the center of this town, also the Banten river and its canals, the busy harbour of Karangantu where ships and boats lay anchored. Further, also distinct is the fact that the market of Karangantu was little away from the town's wall. It lay on the eastern bank of the Karangantu canal. Another picture which is presented by de Houtman, depicts the old market of Karangantu crowded with people's activities. The market was enclosed by a wooden and bamboo wall (fence).<sup>48</sup>

The other map published in 1726 by Francois Valentijn (ills. 33 and 34), who visited Banten in 1694. The map is believed to date from 1624-1630, during the Dutch blockade,





The detail description of this map is informed by Rauffaer that this city has: A. Sultanate Palace; B. Paseban ( meeting square ); C. Mainland Gate; D. Mountain Gate; E. Sea Gate; F. Baluster Gate; G. Tower; H. The Grand Mosque; I. Chinese quarter; J. Pangeran Gebang house; M. Banten River; N. Harbour-master's house; O. Commander's house; P. Ceti Maluku's house; The house of Governor's brother;

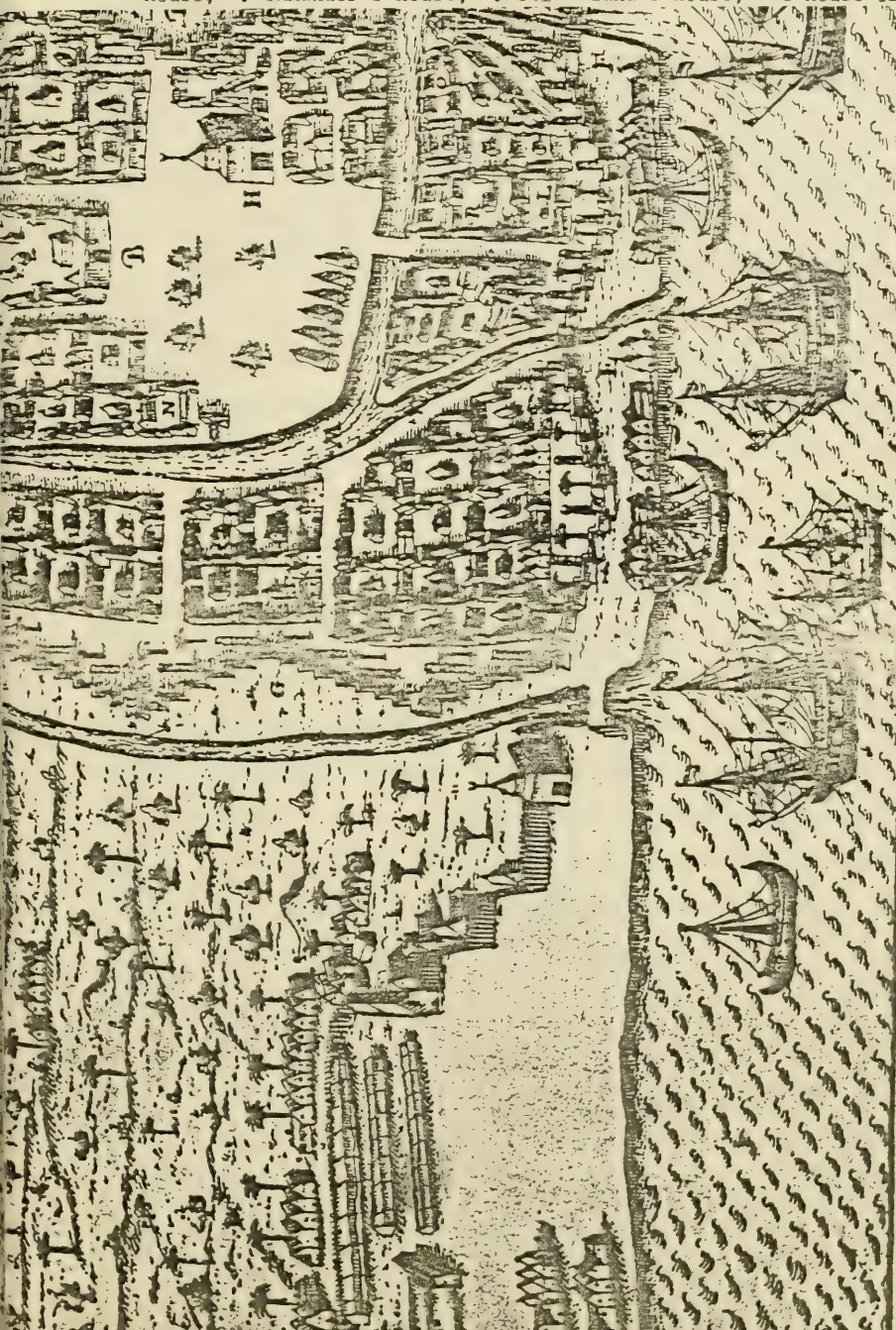
R. Senopati's house; S. Ngabehi Panjang Jiwa's house; T. Chinese fence; V. Andemoin house; Y. Gujarati and Bengal quarter Z. warehouse.

This map is re-printed from :  
G.P. Rauffaer en  
Ijzerman, De  
Eerste Schipvaart  
de "Nederlanders  
naar Oost-Indie  
Onder Cornelis de  
Houtman 1596-1597:  
De eerste boek van  
Willem Lodewijcks,  
( Den Haag:

Artinus  
Mijhoff, 1915  
p. 104

Bantam

DE HOUTMAN 1596





and is perhaps not entirely reliable.<sup>49</sup> The extension of the town eastwards reaching the shore of Banten occurred about that time (Atlas VOC., 1670). The city wall is shown in this map, with a double row of wooden stakes in the water parallel to the shore; the map labels it a palisade meant to prevent ships from landing directly on shore. These may have been erected to fend off Javanese attacks. Various other bulwarks and cannon emplacements are also depicted. At the Water Gate the wall has fallen down for a distance of four roods (one rood=about 3.94 meters). On the west are shown the "English Field" and the Chinese quarter; the latter seems to have moved inland since 1596, perhaps after its levelling by the Dutch bombardment of 1596. The Islamic market at Karangantu on the east has perhaps expanded further along the shore. The house of the royal pepper-weigher is also shown, on the east side of the palace. The settlement seems to have grown on the south side of the palace, but this detail may have been overly emphasized on the map. The alun-alun seems to have shrunk but this too may be simply a result of imprecise drawing rather than any actual change. The elephant's stall is still in place, as are the sheds for the war perahu (ship). Valentyn's legend of this map includes the palace, Grand Mosque, market, king-ship building, loose box of elephant, meeting place for king, and vice-roy's place. Further, this map also showed that the Karangantu market became even more crowded by the



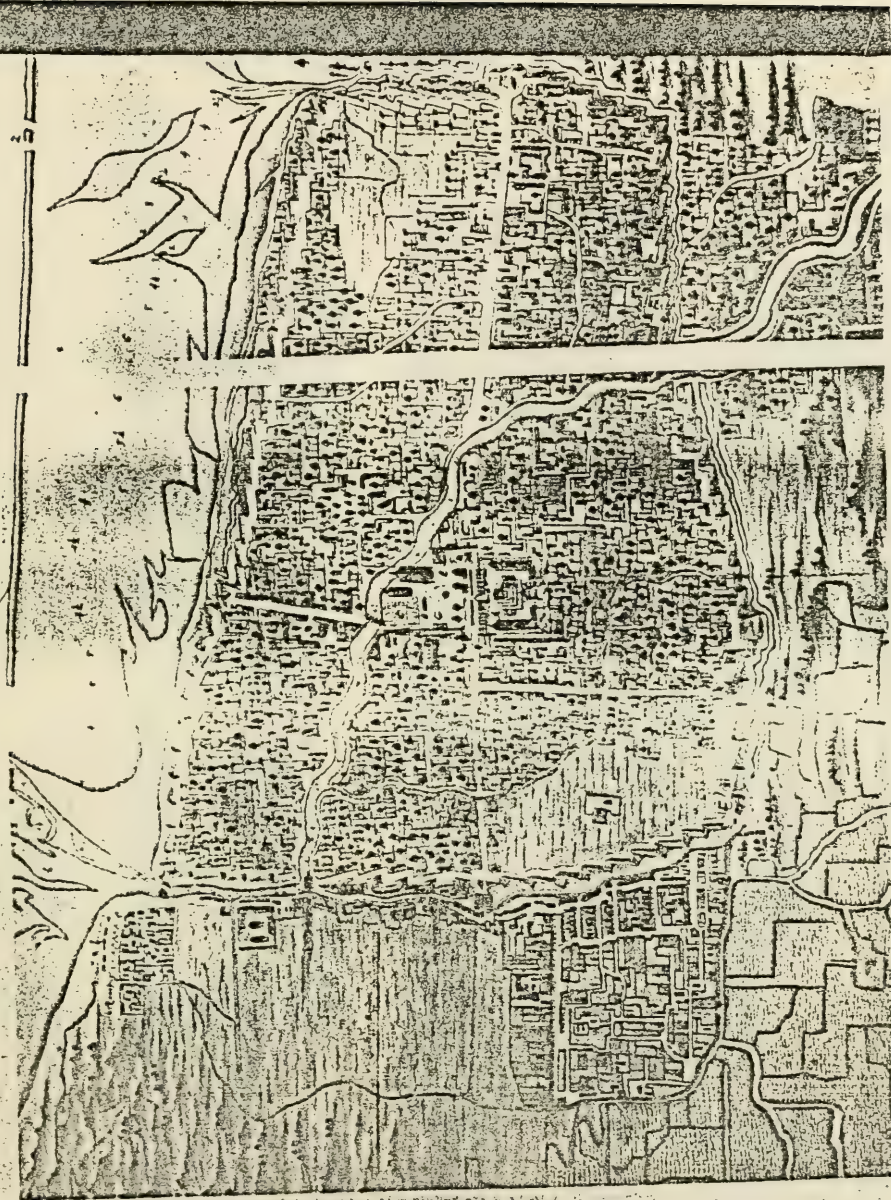
dwelling houses built on the market's limits eastwards to the shore.

The sketch map which dated in 1759 by J. W. Heydt (ill. 35) published by the group of Geographers named "Llerneuester Geographisch und Topographischer".<sup>50</sup> The Surosowan palace and its fortress are shown in this map, the palace is surrounded by the canal which is connected with another canal from the Banten river to the sea through Speelwijk (also surrounded by a canal). At present the canal does not have any significance, because of sedimentation, it was covered with mud, especially in north-front of Surosowan palace, from the beginning of the 20th century by the swamps west of Kampung Kebalen.

On the other maps dating from 18th to the 20th centuries, and one map of Old Banten which had been made sometime after 1879, was published in 1902 by Serrurier (ill 36). He was the curator of the ethnographic collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (the forerunner of the present Indonesian National Museum) obtained from the Resident of Banten in 1893 to orient himself during a visit there. the map divides the site among 33 kampungs or villages, and gives other landmarks as well. The Dutch scholar Brandes found the outlines of the map "unreliable", but agreed that the names given to the various divisions of the settlement were useful as indications of which groups had inhabited various areas. However it must be kept in



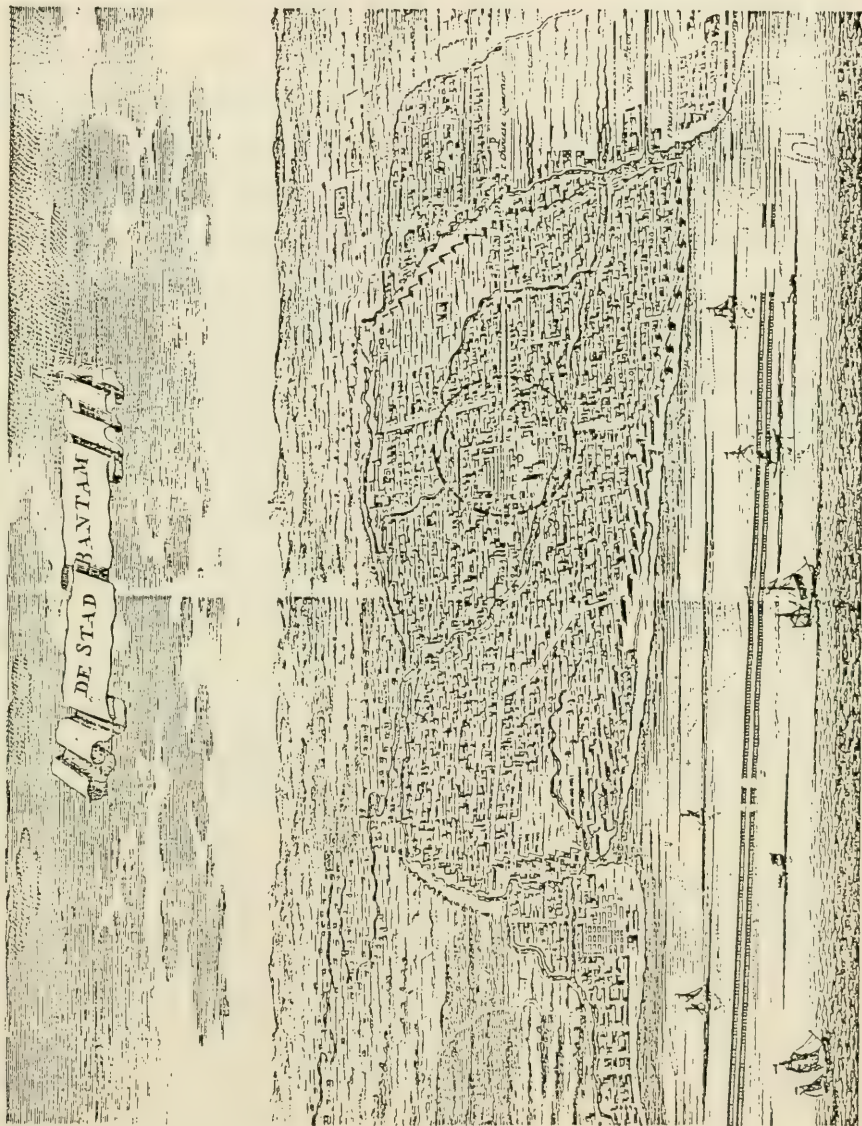




This map is reprinted from Anthony Reid in his article "Southeast Asian Cities before Colonialism" p. 144 cited from The secret Atlas of the East India Company. This map was drawn about 1670 by a skilled team of artists and draftsmen headed by Blaeu, apparently commissioned by a wealthy Amsterdam lawyer and collector, Laurens van der Hem ( 1621-1673 ).







LEQEND

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a | Keraton ( Palace )   |
| b | Mesjid Agung ( Grand Mosque )  |
| c | Pasar kecil ( small market )   |
| d | Loji tempat berlabuh perahu-perahu perang raja yang terpenting (building for king-ships) |
| e | Kandang raja (loose box of elephant)   |
| g | Tempat raja bertemu rapat mengadakan rapat   |
| h | Tempat pertemuan (meeting place for king)  |
| b | Tempat raja muda (place for vice-roy)  |

**SOURCE**

# ACTIVITY

En Nieuw Oost-Indien (III) 1725.

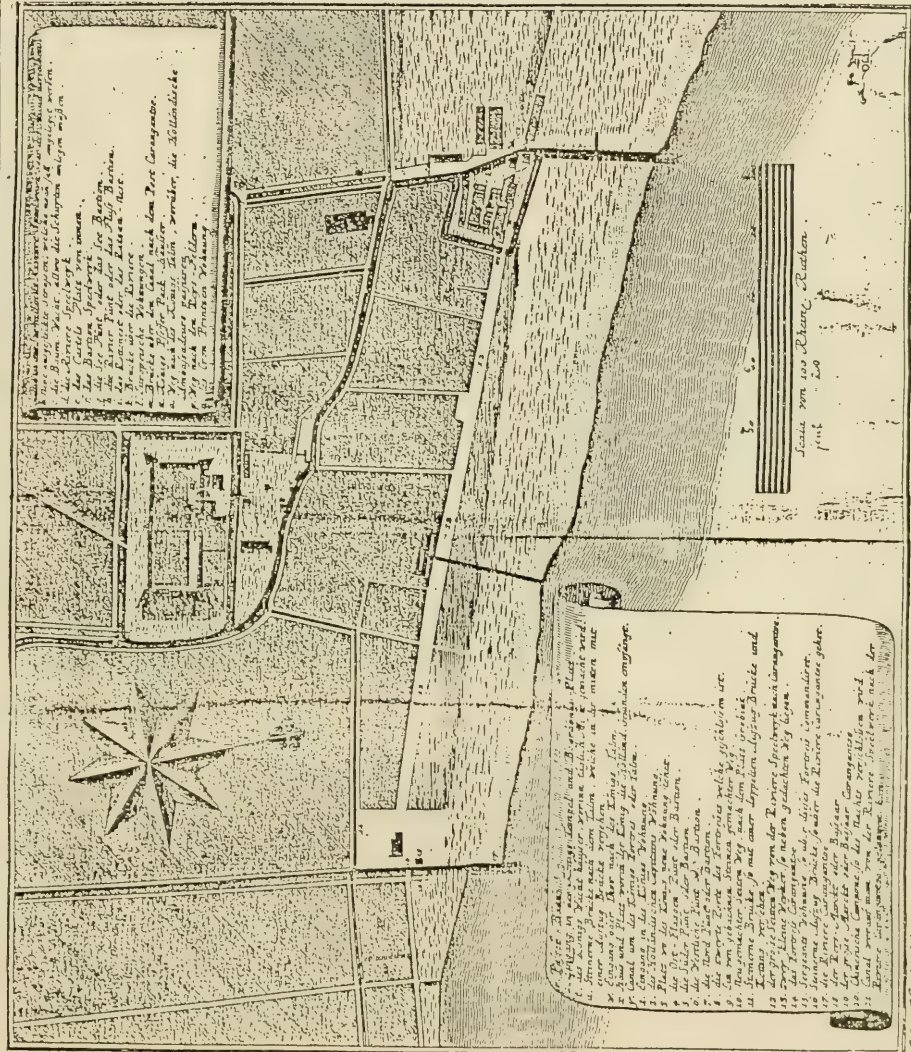


mind that these were names given by the late nineteenth-century residents of the site, "and do not necessarily correspond to the earlier of Old Banten's history."<sup>51</sup> By the legend of Serrurier's map, we can study the comprehensive view of Old Banten.<sup>52</sup>

The houses, whether of the noble or commoner, were built on stilts, with walls of such insubstantial material as split bamboo thatch (a typical trait of Sundanese rather than Javanese house architecture). Some houses had highly-carved pillars, a feature reminiscent of the description of the palace at Pakuan Pajajaran.<sup>53</sup> Even in 1694 only a few houses had tile roofs (though this may have been partly the result of the fire and warfare which destroyed much of the town in 1682). The only stone dwelling in the city was said to be that of the "Shahbandar". The warehouses, on the other hand, were windowless structures built of fire-proof brick, with roofs of heavy beams covered with thick layers of sand.<sup>54</sup> Although their basic function was to provide secure storage space for valuables and goods, sometimes people took advantage of their coolness at night to make them into sleeping places.

If we compare all those old maps with the written descriptions, especially at the eastern Karangantu market and western part of Speelwijk, we know that most of the foreigners in Banten did not live inside the city walls. Instead two foreign quarters were established, one on the





## LEGEND

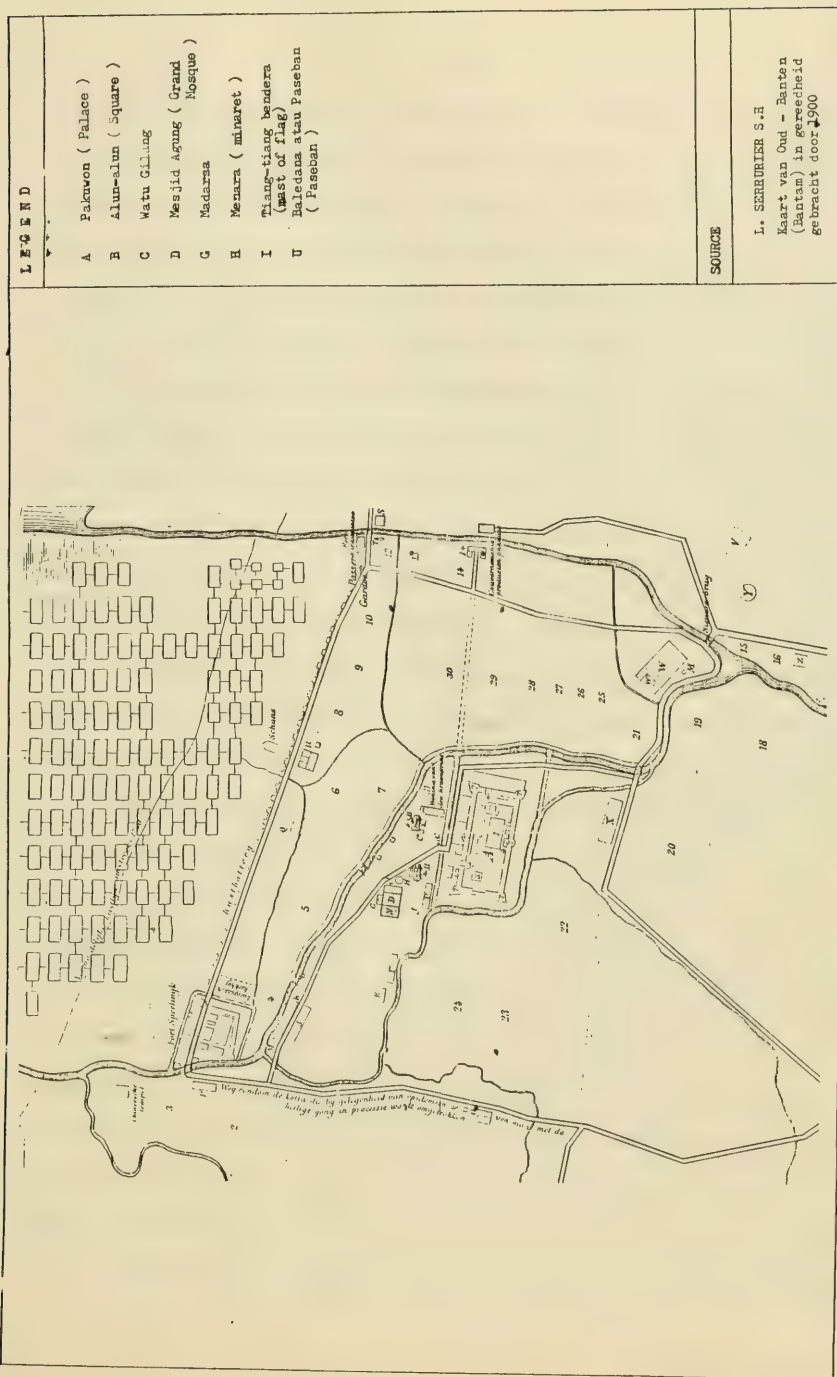
#### SOURCE

J. W. BEYDER

Allerneuester Geographisch  
 und Topographischer  
 Schau-platz von Africa und  
 Ost Indien. 1759











shore east of the city, the other on the west. The eastern quarter was allocated to foreign Moslems: Gujaratis, Malays, Bengalis, Turks, Persians, Egyptians, and Arabs. The western quarter was for non-Moslems and was called "Pecinan". The Chinese were the principal residents there, but in 1596 there were also six Portuguese factors. About four Portuguese junks a year were said to come to Banten from Malacca,<sup>55</sup> mainly to purchase food.<sup>56</sup> Pecinan was palisaded with wooden stakes on three sides; the side facing the city on the east was not fortified. Entry to Pecinan was by canal; a ship as large as a Dutch sloop was able to sail up the river, past the boom, and then into the midst of the "infidel" quarter.<sup>57</sup> There were two booms at Banten, one each on the eastern and western rivers. The districts where the booms were located, were called "Pabeyan Timur" and "Pabeyan Barat" respectively. Pabeyan literally meant "customs" house", and indeed customs duties were levied before cargoes were allowed to pass. According to the "Sejarah Banten", emissaries from Cirebon and Mataram were sent to Banten while Mataram was scheming to use Cirebon to conquer Banten; these men were lodged at Pabeyan Timur (in some versions called Pabeyan Karangantu).<sup>58</sup> At present, the sites are only the remains of brick foundations amidst the fishpond areas and the swamps west of kampung Bugis (Markassarese). Further, if we survey at Karangantu, merely as a nondescript harbour or market, it would be surrounded



by fishponds and swamps (ill. 37). The old maps are designed to reflect the activities of the populace of the Banten urban areas during the past centuries, and aerial photography is regarded most suitable for archaeological research (photos 17 and 18). Further interpretation of old maps and aerial photos reveal differences in density of earth features caused by natural and man's activities in the past, such as change of river course, canal sedimentation and remains of building areas (photos 20 and 21).

Using contemporary maps and modern aerial photographic data, we propose to formulate a research method leading up to a plan for the reconstruction of Islamic Old Banten. For archaeological research in Banten, aerial photography has been applied to a few sites only, selected for examination of possible presence of patterns for a town or settlement. We tried to use surveys in the area of the fishponds around the Karangantu harbour, Speelwijk, Tasikardi, Surosowan, Kaibon and the industrial sites of Panjuinan and Pajantran, starting with geographical and ethnographic data collection.

The soil consists of hydeomorphic alluvial sediments of greyish clay, it is found along the fishponds between Karangantu and Speelwijk. But from other locations a reddish-brown latosol of very sticky clayish texture is present. It was assumed that the slopes of Mount Gede and the southern mountainous area of Serang are the two possible sources for the different types of soil.<sup>59</sup>









Photo no. 17

Aerial photo of Old Mosque  
"Pecinan Tinggi" .

By aerial photography has to  
show the location of  
A. Mosque of Pecinan Tinggi;  
B. Old Tower;  
C. Michrob (niche in the mosque-  
wall, directed to Mecca ).

Original photo is taken from  
Sutikno, Geologist of Gajah  
Mada University, 1983.  
Cited from Bakosurtanal, 1985.



Photo no. 18

The ruin of Michrob  
at the site of  
Pecinan Tinggi.

Photographed by  
Dedy S. Priatna  
August 23, 1986







The above mentioned facts gave cause to conclude that during that period of Islamic growth in Banten, soil was obtained from the mountainous area for use as the foundations for the settlements, the alun-alun, market, dock, and harbour. The survey was organized by the Development Project of Old Banten, in cooperation with the Geographical team of the University of Gajah Mada in 1984-1985. We found a large number of ruins which are still covered by the grass, and most of them are not in a good condition, because many people excavated the sites to take the bricks for building their new houses from the beginning of 1945 up to the present. We found some of the city wall in the west and east sides, also the north and west sides of Speelwijk the city wall was used for the construction of Speelwijk Fortress. The canal surrounded Old Banten has shallowed, and the estuary has in at least four ages (16th-19th centuries) shallowed to such an extent that only boats measuring smaller than 1000 tons are allowed and able to sail in this canal on anchor at the harbour, provided it is high tide. Based on observations of old maps and aerial photographic interpretation, we found an artificial pond, Tasifardi, approximately square, 200 by 200 m, lying 1 km south of the Surosowan palace. It may have been built in the late 17th century by Sultan Agung Tirtayasa, along with his other pleasure palace, Tirtayasa, near Pontang. Around 1930 the banks of the island were still visible. Now,





Photo no. 19

The aerial photo of Speelwijk

This photo shows the location of Speelwijk fortress A; Canal surrounding the fortress B; and Chinese temple C.;

Photographed and printed by  
Badan Koordinasi Survey dan  
Pemetaan Nasional (Bakosurtanal)  
1985, reprinted by Sutikno, 1985



Photo no. 20

Speelwijk Fortress

Photographed by  
Dedy S. Priatna



however, little can be seen except for some stairs on the east side, perhaps remnants of a landing for a boat. Tasikardi was not only a pleasant rural retreat; in fact the main stimulus for its construction may have come from the need for better fresh water supplies in the city. Thus lead pipe lines with terracotta were used to bring water from the lake to the palace (photos 22 and 23). The water passed through three filtration stations during its journey; these can be seen. They are called Pangindelan Abang (red filter), Pangindelan Putih (white filter), and Panjaringan Emas (gold network), representing the increasing purity of water as it approached the palace. The pangindelan (filter or pump?) or station of brick structure, thus it is possible that it was used as some sort of filtration or settling (pumping) tank. According to David De Long's observation in this site on August 29, 1986, he states:

Pangindelan water filtering installation, although I did not inspect this part of the site at close range, these elements seem of particular importance in the study of original water supply system, and together with the adjacent Islanede reservoir, could lend themselves in some way to the possible reconstruction of the water system. Their size and placement also suggested the possibility of pumping stations.<sup>40</sup> (see illust. 38)

Unfortunately, the mystery brick-structure of Pangindelan have not excavated yet nor plan of special research has yet been performed to settle this question. At Surosowan we checked the two gateways, the sultanate rooms, meeting



Photo no. 21.

The canal at the western part of Speelwijk Fortress



The other canal which is still flowing from Surosowan to Speelwijk



Photographed by Dedy S.Priatna, 1987





halls, the pool Rara Denok, the fountain Pancuran Emas, and the southeast bastions (photos 26 and 27). We also were concerned about the constructed and reconstructed foundations of the palace's structures within the sultanate periods. The most important of our observations is the system of water control and distribution in the Surosowan complex, and the chronology of the various constructions within the palace. The special study of the entire channel system from Tasikardi lake to the palace, including the precise way in which the filtration structures of Pangindelan operated; to stabilize the Rara Denok pool especially the western wall which is being undermined, and to attempt to minimized deterioration of exposed architecture (photos 28 and 29). The room structures need to be given identifying marks in order that we know which was the oldest and the newest structures. Historically, this palace was damaged by fire on December 4, 1605, and on June 16, 1607 it was completely consumed in another fire, thus confirming that the concerns of Saris, the head British factor in Banten, over fire were not unreasonable. The palace was rebuilt on the same site, and in 1661 was decorated by many trees.<sup>61</sup> About 1680, it was fortified by Sultan Haji in anticipation of an attack by former Sultan Agung Tirtayasa, his father, which indeed cam to pass in 1682; the surrounding city was thoroughly destroyed by fire, and Sultan Haji was beseiged in his citadel until relieved





Photo no. 22

The aerial photo of Tasikardi lake

This photo is also showing two filtration stations, they called: A. Pangindelan Abang; B. Pangindelan Putih. Thus lead pipes lines with terracotta were used to bring water from the lake to the Royal Palace.

Original photo cites from :  
Bakosurtanal, Jakarta, 1985

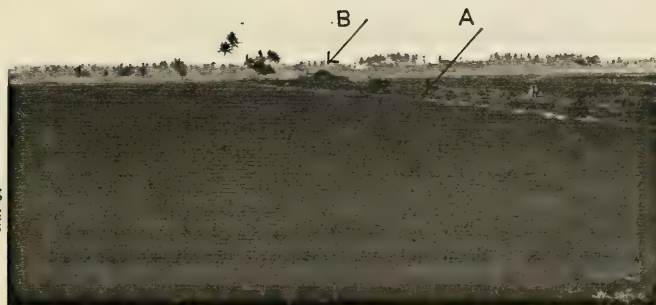


Photo no. 23.

The two filtration stations :

- A. Pangindelan Abang  
( red filter );
- B. Pangindelan Putih  
( white filter ).

Photographed by Salwany  
Michrob.



by Dutch troops. The Dutch renegade and stone mason Cardeel, is said to have assisted in the construction of the fortifications of Surosowan. According to Stavorinus in 1769 an inscription in Dutch was to be seen over the main portal: "This was built by Henrik Laurentsz born in Steenwijk".<sup>62</sup>

The wall of Surosowan are about 2 meters high, with an east-west length of 300 meters and a north-south length of 100 meters, thus enclosing about 3 ha. At the corners are diamond-shaped bastions, and in the center of the north and south walls are semi-circular projections. The fortifications are constructed mainly in brick, but they are of at least three different types, distinguished by size, material, and technique of manufacture. Several types of mortar were also used to bind them together, including clay, and mixture of sand with lime. The walls were not solid, but had an earthen fill; in the northern walls were spaces for rooms. The outer face of the wall has inner reinforcements to prevent collapsing inward, suggesting it was originally intended to stand alone.

There were originally three gates, on the north, east, and south. At some stage the southern entrance was blocked off. The main entrance on the north, facing the alun-alun, and the eastern entrance were buiot in curved form, serving to prevent shots being fired directly through the portal if the gate were open. Three stages of construction can be



observed at the north gate, which is relatively well preserved. The east portal is ruined, but may have undergone the same modifications. the original wall may have been that of a traditional palace enclosure, more intended to shelter the inhabitants from view of the lower classes than to guard against attack. During the first stage it may have been no more than 110-125 cm wide without bastions, built to large bricks with clay mortar. During the second stage the inner wall was built and bastions added. these had parapets with firing embrasures. this was followed by the third phase in which rooms were constructed along the north wall, stairs added giving access to the parapet, the north gate renovated, and the south gate inserted, then closed up again.

The fourth phase involved another modification of the north gate and perhaps the eastern one, at which time brick wall was completely faced with coral on the outer side. The fifth and final stage involved adding more rooms to the interior and improvements of the inner wall. The bricks used during this stage of work were smaller, and more mortar was used. Thus between the first and the second stages the function of the wall was altered from a traditional palace enclosure into a fortification with European elements. This transformation probably occurred in 1680, perhaps with the assistance of Cardeel. After this time Surosoan wall called Fort Diamant by the Dutch. Our interpretation during





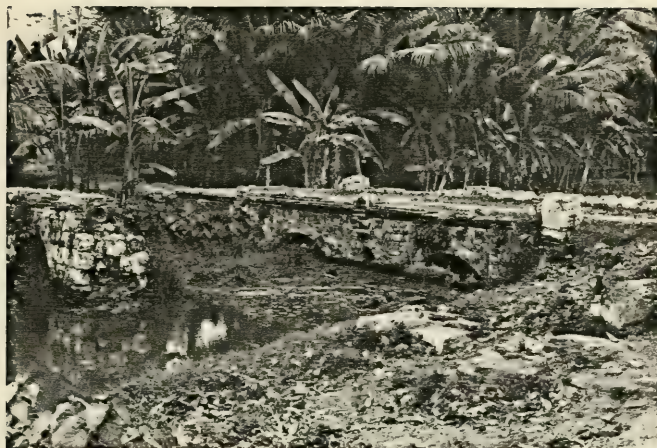


Photo no. 24 The south bridge of Surosowan Palace.  
A. canal; B. a bridge; C a terracotta pipe ( broken ) are archaeological evidence of old Banten during the Sultanate periods.

Photographed by Halwany Michrob, 1985

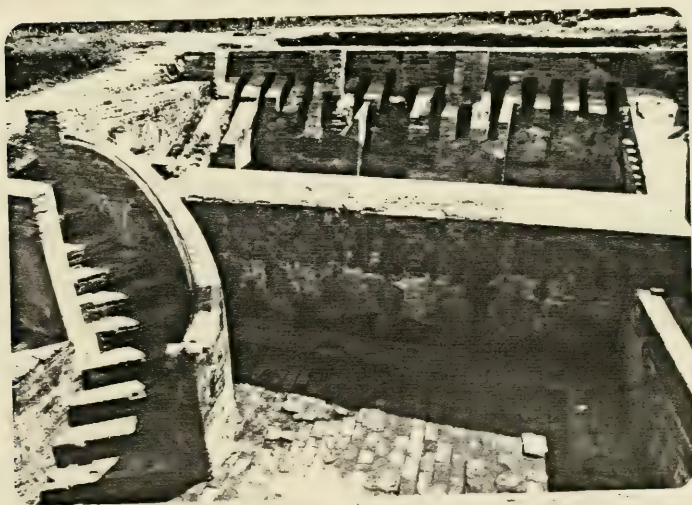


Photo no.25

The fountain  
"Pancuran Sma  
The important  
of the water  
system is to  
control and  
distribute  
one to anothe  
part of the  
rooms surroun  
ing the palac

Photographed by Halwany Michrob, 1986



out observation here in this site, for the first stage, included the laying out of the outer walls dating from the reign of Maulana Hasanuddin between 1552-1570; the Sejarah Banten attributes the construction of the north and east gates of Maulana Yusuf, the second Sultan of Banten, 1570-1580.

Surosowan, like other fortified positions in Old Banten, was equipt with various aritllery pieces. the use of cannon has a long history in west Java. According to de Barros, when the Portuguese first visited Java, good cannons were already being made there. A later Portuguese account which may date from teh sixteenth century mentions that at Banten, on one side of the town is a strong bulwark of wood equipt with a cannon. In 1596 the records of the first Dutch voyage mentioned that a redoubt with one cannon mounted at each corner, and one large cannon as well as several small ones standing in front of the palace.<sup>63</sup> No further excavation should be undertaken at present; exposing more parts of the site will only cause problems of preserving the excavated remains. Restoration should be greatly decreased until more can be seen and known about the different phases of evolution of Surosowan. For this purpose, a thorough study should be made of the foundations so far exposed, in order to identify characteristics of different building methods and lay out pattern from the specific time-periods.<sup>64</sup>



Systematical and methodological interpretation were applied to the Banten observation to update and intensify the development of Banten archaeology in finding an indicator for the technological development of local ceramics and metal industry during the Banten's past centuries. We have checked among the names of Banten's various quarters such as Kapandean, Kagongan, Kemaranggan, and Kamasan (gold industry). Tools and traces of metal works have been found at those sites. Probably the craftsmen of Banten also made the sultanate coins, household utensils, and weapons during that time. By attempting to assemble the various data, a plausible explanation of the artifacts which were found in the sites during the archaeological excavations in the form of a hypothesis which will later be tested to further field research on how to melt the bronze, silver, and gold for gilding and other requisites. The aerial photography gives us a knowledge - to identify the industrial site of Panjunan (about 750 m. southwest of Kaibon palace). It has received a lot of attention and is becoming a popular method in archaeology. By this aerial photo, the study of the site and present day material deposition was conducted to help in understanding how certain physical regularities of material affect human behavior in a given environment.

Random and systematic test pits of the site will be put throughout Panjunan in looking for possible dwelling areas





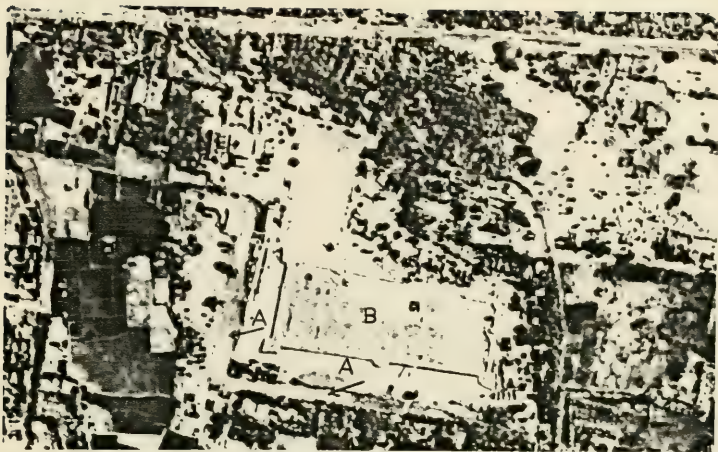


Photo no. 26      Aerial Photo of Surosowan Palace

This photo shows: A, Southern and western canal surrounding the Royal Palace. The photo is taken from Sutikno (cf. Bakosurtanal, 1985)



The southern part of Surosowan fortress which shows the canal and the old bridge connecting between Surosowan Palace and Tasikardi.  
 Photographed by Dina Darmawanti, 1985





and pottery kilns. These test pits can be informed about the other kind of areal activities and the extent of materials scattered or distributed on the site. A microscopic study on lithic artifacts will be carried out. This study goes together with an experiment on striations by making and using a tool similar to the one under observation. The research can help us in understanding the technology employed by the ancient makers. With evidence provided from finds such as these, the character of several sites could be determined.

### 3.3. Banten and Javanese-Islamic Urbanization

It is not enough to compare old maps and aerial photographic analyses, to answer the question "is Banten an example of a Javanese or an Arab city pattern?", but we have attempted to establish the shifting pattern, space, and usage of the sites in the Islamic history of Banten.

Old Banten was almost certainly the largest city in northern coastal Java, and in all probability, in the whole of Southeast Asia in 1596. Banten shared a number of basic characteristics with other large Javanese ports; indeed there are enough similarities to suggest that they were built according to an abstract plan of what a settlement should be. Moreover, Old Banten possessed some attributes commonly found in contemporary Islamic cities in other parts



of the world. In consideration of the hypothesis that Old Banten developed as an Islamic city, we have already known by our study to explore the prototype for Old Banten. The Islamic city of Banten as a part of Southeast Asian cities, many models have been used to characterized a general city-type of the Islamic world and non-Islamic cities of Southeast Asia. We have said that Old Banten also has the similar pattern of the world Islamic cities. Palace, citadel, fortifications, mosques, gates, market and square which are found here in Old Banten, are the most obvious and most important aspects of the state's visibility in the city as characteristic forms of the Islamic world. The most prominent centers of activity, as in Moslem India and Africa as well as the Arab countries seem to have been the palace, market and mosques. The settlement was divided into quarters according to occupation and ethnicity, as were late mediaeval cities in other Islamized parts of the world. Even Banten's position as the largest city in Indonesia, not only at that time but possibly in all history up to that point, is a characteristic which it held in common with other Moslem cities of the late sixteenth century.

If the origin cities in Java coincided with the spread of Islam, and the component elements of the cities were common to much of the Islamic world, one might predict that the pattern of settlement within the new Javanese cities also would have imitated a standard Islamic form.



Photo no. 28

Rock upstairs of the Surosowan fortress.



Photographed by Halwany Michrob, 1984

Photo no. 29

The pool Rara Denok.

Photographed  
by Halwany  
Michrob, 1983

The excavation resulted to find the architectural fragment , brick wall of Rara Denok ).



Historical information however shows that this assumption would be unclear or false. If we have understood that nowhere is the synthesis between Islamic culture and Hindu India more clearly achieved than in Akbar's ceremonial city, known as the town of Victory (Fatehpur Sikri), here light and airy structures, reminiscent of Moslem pavilions and tents, combine with the flat stone beams and massiveness of traditional Hindu buildings. The natural accompaniment of such reliance on Hindus was the policy of religious toleration which Akbar adopted, as had other Moslem rulers of Hindu people before. Various methods of the sultanates' activities in Banten from the beginning of Islamic growth, until the physical distribution of public and private places in Old Banten and elsewhere continues the traditional layout of the Javanese court complexes of pre-Islamic times. Java can therefore be said to possess an indigenous pattern of urbanization, with some elements common to contemporary cities evolved from the acts of many individuals, then we can conclude that the introduction of Islam did not result in a revolutionary change in the Javanese way of life, but rather underwent a process of gradual evolution by stages (a policy of religious toleration).

Banten was not unique in possessing a defensive enclosure. Cirebon, Demak, and Tuban also had brick walls in 1596. Other ports, including Jayakarta, Jepara, and





Blambangan had stockades of wood or bamboo.<sup>44</sup>

Old Banten's layout was not unique among Javanese settlements, nor was it an innovation which appeared in Java in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century simultaneously with the introduction of Islam. According to the *nagarakrtagam*, Majapahit's capital was divided into manors, or *Kuwu*, each belonging to a nobleman. Pajuan Pajajaran, the capital of the last pre-Islamic kingdom of Sunda, seems to have shared the same sort of structure. The *kampung* (village) of Old Banten, therefore, can be traced back to pre-Islamic times both in Sunda and east Java. Some reliefs carved on the temple of Brobudur, central Java, around AD 800, seem to represent royal residences also surrounded by wooden palisades.

The custom according to which foreigners were allotted separate quarters also existed in Java in pre-Islamic times. The Moslem burial ground at Troloyo, near Trowulan, east Java, perhaps indicates the location of the Islamic quarter during the Majapahit era. Inscriptions from east Java frequently mention "juru Cina" and "juru Keling", heads of these foreign communities. Indeed such an arrangement seems to have existed throughout the ancient world, at least from the time of the Akkadian period in Mesopotamia, when the Assyrian merchants in Cappadochia were allocated a residential area at Karum Kanesh (Karum probably meaning "foreigners' quarters"). Such quarters certainly existed in



all ports in Java where foreign merchants resided in the sixteenth century, and in all probability since the first foreign merchants appeared in Indonesia. Even the construction of a stone vault for storage was already customary in fourteenth century Majapahit. The alun-alun, palace, and mosque formed a group with a fixed spatial relationship. The palace in the later courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta also faced an alun-alun; in both cases, the palaces were also located towards the south. In Cirebon, however, the palace lay on the north. In all cases, the great mosque was erected in front of and to the left of the palace, on one side of the alun-alun. Until 1650, it was a custom common to Javanese courts to keep large perahus (ships) on the north side of the alun-alun.<sup>66</sup>

A drawing of Tuban, made during the second Dutch expedition of 1599, shows the king of Tuban seated on a flat square platform with subjects listening to him while seated on three sides; this takes place on the alun-alun, and perhaps represents a council meeting. The royal elephants each have their own roof to shield them from the sun; here the elephant's stables are, however, on the west side of the alun-alun, between the palace and mosque. The greatest elephant, however, was given a separate stall on the north side.<sup>67</sup>

At Sunda Kalapa, in 1522, a Portuguese description mentions that the palace, mosque, and alun-alun were located



on the Cisadane's west bank.<sup>68</sup> A Dutch description of the same place, then called Jayakarta, in 1618, at the inception of the war against the Bantenese and the British, indicates that its layout very closely resembled that of Banten. The custom office (also fortified with cannon) lay on the west bank of the Ciliwung river's mouth. The center of the town lay further south. The Chinese quarter (here on the east, not west bank as at Banten) included some fortifications, after which the main settlement appeared.<sup>69</sup>

Chinese estimates of population for the main ports of north east Java such as Tuban and Gresik in about 1430 indicated that the average population of a large coastal settlement then was only about 5000. In 1523 there were about 30,000 people in Gresik.<sup>70</sup> Demak and Palembang were estimated to contain 8,000 to 10,000 families. If one family is reckoned to have averaged five individuals, this would correspond to a total of 40,000 to 50,000. The palace complex at Pasai alone was estimated to contain 3,000 inhabitants, with the whole city containing 20,000 inhabitants.<sup>71</sup>

We do not know enough about the sizes of settlements in the hinterland to compare them with the ports; perhaps in the fourteenth century the largest cities were in fact in the hinterland, about which the Chinese knew less, and the growth of the ports simply reflected a shift in population from the agrarian interior to the coast. The first



descriptions of the settlement patterns of the interior of Java, admittedly of a later time, do not support this hypothesis, however. The dense population of the valleys of central and east Java were dispersed among villages, among which the royal centers were notable mainly because of the different occupations of the inhabitants rather than greater size. Thus the appearance of cities in Java seems to coincide with the introduction of Islam.

The phenomenon of urbanization was widespread in the Islamic countries of the same period. At a time when most Europeans still lived in agrarian villages and only a few cities included as many as 100,000 people, Cairo and Constantinople each had several hundred thousand. If we accept the estimate that there were already 100 million Europeans by 1600, and 8 million Indonesians, "in relation to its total population, then, Southeast Asia in this period must have been one of the most urbanized areas in the world".<sup>72</sup>

The rulers of Banten perhaps differed among themselves in terms of the degree to which they intended to claim the right to all profits from foreign trade for themselves; in other Indonesian kingdoms of the early Islamic period, the king was often the main or even the only commercial party allowed to do business with foreigners. In other instances, relatively free trade was allowed. This relationship between the ruler and the nobility may have fluctuated from





one reign to another; very little was pre-determined by precedent in Indonesian courts, aside from ceremony. All else depended upon the strength of personality of the individual rulers and nobles. In Banten, there seems to have been of Javanese descent, other Sundanese. Perhaps the Sundanese were more agriculturally oriented than the Javanese.

It is at least possible to be relatively certain that there was no mercantile or middle class as such in Banten. The city's population within the walls seems to have consisted only of nobles and servants, with possibly some free craftsmen such metal workers associated with the households. Foreigners were allowed into the walled city, but not into the palace; hence we possess no description of it from this date.

During the sixteenth century Banten rose to the peak of the settlement heirarchy in Southeast Asia, with a population estimated by the first Dutch visitors in 1596 as equalling that of Amsterdam, and Banten experiences a revival under Sultan Agung Tirtayasa from 1651 to 1682. But after the civil war, Sultan Haji offered concessions to the Dutch in return for reinforcements. Because of that, Banten city remained a seat of royalty and a trading center under Dutch supervision until 1810. The last Sultan voluntarily abdicated in 1815, by which time Banten had declined to a collection of fishing and farming villages as a post-urban



period until the present. John N. Miksic, during his seminar to the 85th Annual Meeting of the "American Anthropological Association" Philadelphia, 3 December 1986, states:

Historical data suggest that Bantam's history can be divided into five phases:

1. a pre-Islamic Sundanese period, 1400-1525;
2. an early Islamic flourescence under Javanese political control, 1525-1619;
3. a period of fluctuating fortunes, 1619-1682, when Banten, the Dutch, and the central Javanese Kingdom Mataram were roughly balanced;
4. a period of Dutch vassaldom, 1682-1815;
5. a post-urban period, 1815 until the present.<sup>73</sup>

The mosque, which was called Mesjid Agung Banten is a living monument. This building was erected in the center of the city and has a tiled roof with five tiers, looks like a temple style. If we refer to Akbar's policy who combined Islamic and traditional Hindu buildings in India during that time, probably Sultan Banten made this mosque containing architectural and architectonic elements derived from an earlier Hindu-Javanese or Sundanese style (ill. 39). Its settlement patterns and general plan appear to conform to a pattern common to Islamic cities both in Java and throughout the Moslem world.

Remains of ancient structures enable us to visualize the ability of Banten to erect mosques, palaces,



fortifications, alun-alun, suspensions bridges, markets, wharfs, canals, and city walls. Building styles indicate a blend of foreign and indigenous elements, the five tiered roof of the mosque at Banten preserves a characteristic of Indonesian trait. Thus Old Banten displays some features common to other Islamic cities of the period, but few links with local Sundanese sites. Archaeology gives us little data from the pre-Islamic period with which to compare later sites.

Possibly, Old Banten could be divided into five phases of city development:

1. a prehistoric settlement, from prehistory until the kingdom activities of Tarumanagara in the 5th century;
2. a pre-Islamic Sundanese town, during the Hindu-Sundanese period, 600-1525;
3. an early Islamic city, from the beginning of Islamic growth until the rise of the Sultanate period, 1526-1580 (as a capital of Banten Islamic kingdom);
4. an Islamic port-city, from Sultan Muhammad Ratu ing Banten till the end of Sultan Agung Tirtayasa's period, 1580-1682;
5. a declining Islamic city, the period of Dutch vassaldom, 1683-1809; thus in 1817, Banten was finally placed under direct control of the Dutch government, with an administrator residing in Serang (see Brief chronology of Banten).

At present, the Old Banten is only a village of about 4,000 inhabitants, the old glory of the Islamic city of Banten is gone forever.



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## Chapter Four:

### A Master Plan for the Preservation of Banten

#### 4.1. Philosophy of Urban Historic Site Preservation

Urban sites have special features compared to other types of sites. They have a large area, they are the center of many different activities, they undergo many rapid changes over time and thus undergo frequent site disturbance, and they are comprised of a combination of many types of remains. All these features create special problems for preservationists and restorers. The goal of preservation is still the same as at other sites: to arrest as far as possible the forces which can change the condition of a particular object, structure or landscape. When the object of preservation work is straightforward, and requires little or no research or interpretation to determine the actions which need to be taken, we know that we must simply seek to stop the processes of physical decay: rotting of wood, rusting of iron, and so forth. The problem becomes more complicated if some restoration is judged necessary. In the case of a single artifact, the restorer should not do more than clean the object, including removing those parts of the piece being restored which endanger the preservation of the rest of object. Restorers are often tempted to "recreate", to add new color or other material to the object in order to make the object look just as it did when it was





new. However, this practice, which was once so common as to be almost universal, is now judged to be wrong and to be avoided at all costs.

When the thing to be preserved is a building, the problem is more complicated. Buildings can be used for long periods of time, during which they are remodeled and otherwise changed. They may be made from a large variety of different materials, each requiring different techniques to preserve them. The most difficult problem to solve is in deciding what should be preserved. If a building has been remodelled several times, different parts of it will date from different periods. If old walls have simply been covered by a new layer of plaster or brick, it will be easy to strip away the newer exterior. If old walls have been removed, however, it is impossible to preserve them, and we are again faced with the dilemma of restoring as imitation, or leaving in place a newer wall. These problems are multiplied in the example of a city. In such a complex site, not only are the artifacts and structures important and worthy of preservation, but also the spatial relationships between them. How far was the mosque from the palace? How far was the market? What did the Sultan see when he sat in his pavillion giving public audience in the square? All these things are much more important than the mere artifacts and structures themselves. We can only obtain as close an image as possible of the past from



visiting a preserved site, individual objects in a museum are more remotely connected with their functions in human life, and even individual buildings provide a restricted impression of the conditions under which people lived at earlier times. But a complete site can create an environment which effects a broad range of the human senses, so that contemporary people are enabled to experience much the same sensations as their ancestors.

The great potential of urban sites to inspire and educate the public is, however, equaled by the enormous difficulty involved in exploiting this potential. Let us consider the problems faced at Banten:

1. Area: The exact boundaries of the city have not been determined, but it they include hundreds of hectares. Much of it now belongs to private individuals or organizations, such as the Maulana Hasanuddin Foundation. It is not yet possible to incorporate the whole site into a single preservation district, although such a goal has been set. This will involve delineating red, yellow, and green zones (see below).
2. Different Activities: The site was used for the entire range of human endeavour. Some of these activities can be identified from written records, others from archaeology. Further research will



reveal more, but some will never be known.

3. Rapid Change: During its 300-year history, Banten's population rose and fell, and buildings were built and destroyed. Crises and warfare were frequent. We must decide whether to restore the city as it appeared in the 16th, 17th or 18th century, or some combination thereof.
4. Frequent Disturbance: Some parts of the site, especially the palace and residential area, have been dug up, built over, and so on, so that not all areas can be preserved.
5. Variety of Remains: Most activity at Banten has been devoted to the restoration of the mosque and Surosowan palace, rather than preservation. In the future, as more areas of the site come under the jurisdiction of the project, the focus will shift to preservation. The first priority will be to preserve rather than to recreate. However, certain parts of the site require special attention. The various parts of the site were linked by water works. However, in many cases the canals are silted up, the rivers' courses changed, and the sluice gates for controlling the water



disappeared. To what extent are we allowed to alter the face of the site in order to restore that aspect of life in the old city?

No old houses remain on the site. Can old houses be recreated, or is this contrary to the principles of preservation? Numerous quandaries such as this present themselves. If we are guided by the rule that our first duty is to preserve and protect without any changes, except where absolutely necessary, then our philosophy will guide us in the proper direction. In deciding what is proper preservation and what is not, perhaps we can use the following criterion: what will our children say? By this is meant, will they say that a certain preservation project has helped them to understand their ancestors, or will they say that we have destroyed a piece of evidence which could have been useful to them? Preservation should not be aimed at the present, but towards future ones. It is for our children and grandchildren and their children that we work. We do not hesitate to criticize our predecessors in preservation for their mistakes; certainly those who follow us will be no less critical of us.

The most important element in a philosophy of preservation is that nothing should be destroyed by it. Impatience is perhaps the greatest sin for the preservationist. If he attempts to create a preservation





project in a short time by sacrificing detail, he will certainly be condemned by his successors. While ignorant people may scoff at the slow, painstaking progress of a well-planned project as laziness or lack of skill, future generations will praise us. We only live for a short time. Lack of praise now will be more than amply compensated for the recognition of many future generations.

Thus to return to the question of the canal, the original character of the city will not be visible until the canals are restored to use. However, if the rapid excavation techniques are used, tremendous amounts of data will be lost forever. We must resign ourselves to the fact that the restoration of the canal network will take many years, and that we ourselves may not live to see it completed. We can however take satisfaction in the fact that when it is completed, we will be praised for our work rather than blamed for it. It would be better to do nothing than to do work which will give us a bad reputation in the future. In essence, then, a philosophy of preservation is based on the attribute of patience, a quality for which Indonesians have long been famous.

#### 4.2 Master Plan for the Restoration of Banten

With a great deal of study of Banten's historic site and its surroundings, one is continually drawn to the



monumental remains as prominent signs of Banten's past. While the restoration problems are, of course, complex, the project should try to make decisions that will enable people to see clearly what original forms were like, at the same time without adding too many new elements. In the case of the palace structures, this might mean that one section of the remains would be restored intensively, in order to get as complete a rebuilding as possible, at the same time leaving the rest of the area in an unrestored state. This might provide a more attractive setting than trying to restore the entire palace compound in an incomplete or unclear (false) way.

The kind of restoration involved might include adding some materials, for example floor-tiles, but only if the materials were convincing enough to really fit into the site. Surosowan palace, where there are two or more building phases evident (see historical background of this site), the older and newer remains should be clearly marked, with dates and general information. To as great an extent as possible, printed signs should be placed to give the viewer historical, archaeological, and functional details of the structure in view, at all of the important sites. The extent to which the ancient city of Banten should become a focus of the historical site (rebuilding processes), surrounding settlements and buildings may be naturally hard to estimate. The archaeological research of Banten in 1976



was the first step towards investigation in urban archaeology and settlement archaeology. This is to be expected, however, as the research was only undertaken in a small part of the whole research area which is very extensive, and in a relatively short period of time. Therefore it was necessary to continue year by year (up to this year) to expand the research in the Banten area.<sup>1</sup> This case, as stated by David De Long:

The hypothetical plan should indicate the extent of urbanization, the system of major canals and roadways, and assumed as well as known major buildings. To be of real use, such a plan would clearly depend on thorough research of all available documents relating to Banten as well as to similar sites elsewhere. The identification of similar sites providing significant parallels would be important. To test hypotheses relating components of the plan, limited archaeological explorations could be undertaken at designated spots to check for expected evidence. For instance, if a specific intersection of roads were posited, a short-term, focused archaeological dig at that spot could confirm if an actual intersection of roads had indeed existed. Such techniques have been successfully applied at Sardis. By its very nature, the hypothetical plan would be the sort of documents that are constantly being updated based on newly discovered evidence.<sup>2</sup> (see photo no. 30)

Another impact on Banten is the maritime heritage. There are traditions of boat-building, the activity of the harbour and trade center at Karangantu. These could be preserved and might be presented through (imaginative) recreations. Like numerous historic sites in America and Canada, one promising idea in this line is a master plan to use the old river-way for boat transport from one





Photo no. 30 The city-wall is found during the archaeological investigation in 1985



Mundardjito, one of Indonesian archaeologists is busy to control his students during their excavation at the southern part of Speelwijk. In this site, we are discussing some of the city-walls which could not be detected without total excavation. This photo shows a part of city-wall which has been found during their archaeological excavation in 1985. Photographed by Dedy S.Priatna.





archaeological site to another within the Banten area. Unfortunately, it will not be possible to realize the master plan for the restoration of Banten which includes old Banten becoming an Archaeological or Historical Park, unless significant funding becomes available. According to Uka Tjandrasasmita, Surosowan Palace, Kaibon, and Fort Speelwijk are the targets of study being carried out by a Team of The Directorate of History and Traditional Values. Further, he states:

The biggest part of old Banten has not been restored because of lack of funds. Besides the inclusion of parts of the work which have been finished in the preliminary concept of the master plan, it is imperative to include the following study:

1. The socio-economic life of the people in the surrounding areas both for permanent and odd jobs.
2. The socio-cultural life of the people surrounding areas; the living arts, such as dance, self-defense art, "debus", and handicrafts.
3. The attitudes of the society towards the restored objects, whether they support or condemn them.
4. The future prospects of the result of the restoration. The use of the local manpower and the management of the Archaeological Park among the central government, local government community, and non-governmental bodies.
5. The study of getting sources of income for the maintenance of the archaeological Park.
6. Education for the people in surrounding areas so that they could support and participate actively in its further development.
7. Electricity, clean water, sanitation of the



public facilities, etc.

8. Mechanisms of the implementation of the projects among institutions involved in the work and mechanisms of management after the completion of the projects.

It is expected that old Banten could become an archaeological or historic Park which has historical, archaeological and cultural value.<sup>3</sup>

The above study, as mentioned by Uka Tjandrasasmita, contains the most important points of the "integrated project" between the Central Government (numerous departments, such as the Department of Education and Culture, Public Work, Agriculture, Religion, etc.), local community government, and non-governmental bodies. These departments would integrate to carry out Banten's master plan which will be organized by the directorate General of Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture. For the socio-cultural life of the people in surrounding areas, the living arts and handicrafts, the Directorate General of Tourism will pay particular attention to the public facilities surrounding the archaeological park of Banten.

#### 4.2.1 Proposal for Preservation

Successful preservation of historic buildings should be always based on the preservation method. Inadequate techniques used by restorers aiming to reconstruct the building in the field have caused serious damage to the



artifacts. The principle of conservation involves the control of atmospheric conditions to save all archaeological remains, starting at the time they are discovered, whether under ground or underwater. For the Banten site, the only hope to alleviate this difficulty is to hire a chemist trained or knowledgeable both excavation and restoration. The study and the role of conservation is, as stated by Caroline K. Keck,

"...(For many of us, the word restoration is synonymous with alteration and is a term that has acquired a derogatory flavor. It is fool-hardy to take offense to a word that we happily claim for our personal state after the benefits of a fine vacation. Discredit associated with the title or restorer stems from our 20th-century concept that what is preserved should serve as a historic witness. It is as unfair for us to refute the labors of our predecessors in restoration as it will be for our descendants to damn ours for prolonging images that they may interpret offensively. We think of ourselves as the medical end of the art world. The analogy is valid. When medicine emerged from its cloaks of secrecy and myth to become a profession, it commenced to amass a body of shared knowledge founded on experience, experiments and observation. With persistent research came innovations that honed the application of skill..."<sup>4</sup>

It will be found in some cases that the importance of the architecture will outweigh political or personal history and the tentative date will be selected accordingly. Conversely in some buildings the preservation should be directed to unusual or significant architectural features of a different period. A careful reconstruction may be as valuable as a setting for the presentation of history as a



restoration even though the patina of age (that indescribable atmosphere) is removed and replaced by a modern finish. Thus, the architect awarded a commission to restore an ancient building should be one who has a careful and inquiring mind. He must be able to subordinate his own design ideas to the taste of past generations. When the research work is complete the architect must prepare a detailed report which will correlate the results of research by the historian, the archaeologist, and the architectural investigators. The architect for a restoration of any monument should be responsible for the entire operation including historical, archaeological, and special research as well as the architectural work. In any event, every step of the restoration project must be under the close and meticulous supervision of the architect in charge. In restoration work, the historian's research recovers the story of the site, informing about building, the people who built and those who used it, their lives, property, and personal possessions. It is the rare historical report, however, which includes an accurate physical description of the building. The extent of documentary source material available for historical research is literally endless and the accumulation of evidence related to a building and its uses can never be said to be absolutely complete. Without such a detailed record the same ground may be covered by





subsequent researchers and even the original worker will be handicapped in attempting to prove, review or check his work. Techniques for historical research must depend on the scope of a project. Archaeological exploration, produces two direct results, physical remains of a building, and articles related to the building's occupants, especially their local activities. Base maps, the grid system, photographs, and excavation of the site are the field activities of archaeological role and practice. Through study of such reports of digs at various sites, archaeologists become increasingly efficient in the interpretation and dating of evidence recovered in their own investigations. The problems of the restoration in Old Banten, arise when objects or structures that have been excavated from the damp soil are dried quickly instead of being allowed to adapt themselves gradually to the new environment above ground. In order to prevent such deterioration, it is essential on excavations which will be restored after finishing the reports, the materials or objects must be kept in a cool place out of the sun, where they can give their moisture slowly. The decision to restore the old building in the ancient city of Banten is likely to amount to deciding whether to arrest the life process, to reverse it under conditions that encourage ongoing contributions of worthy character.

According to my experience working in the



archaeological site of Banten, I know that archaeologists are not always concerned with what happens to the materials they excavate, once they have rung from the bones every scrap of relevant information. Neither the resultant rubble at some digs nor the preservation of the uncovered finds is necessarily important to archaeological research.

Historians and Museologists would be better served if every archaeological expedition included in its membership at least one well-trained conservator. In addition to the responsibility for discovering and interpretation of the archaeological data, and for insisting upon accuracy in preservation projects, the archaeologist must often also be a scientist-conservator. While in the field, he may have to face the same conservation-restoration problems regarding archaeologically recovered artifacts as does the conservator working in the laboratory. And, when the archaeological program does not include the services of a staff conservator, the field archaeologist is required to perform necessary treatment or to stabilize the object so that it can be examined and treated later.<sup>5</sup>

Generally speaking, preservationists agree that it is better to preserve than repair, better to repair than restore, and better to restore than to reconstruct. A period reconstruction if well done will not be distinguishable on the surface to even a practiced eye. In this event the record and interpretation must clearly report



where the new work was done and the basis for its design. 4

#### 4.2.2 Building by Building Application for Preservation

The preservation of Old Banten buildings and monuments, should always be based on the restoration and preservation methods for application, in order to facilitate the study of not only a single building, but the relationships between contemporaneous ancient buildings. Rapid growth and renewal have resulted in tragic losses of old buildings, creating an increasing demand to conserve significant examples of the Banten architectural heritage. While it is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss all the major buildings that could be restored in Banten I will discuss the issues involved in the restoration of three significant buildings- Surosowan Palace, Kaibon palace and the Great Mosque- and the development of the Banten Museum. Surosowan Palace is one of the restoration plans for which the project should try and make decisions that will enable people clearly to see what the original forms were like, while at the In the case of the palace structures, this might mean that one section of the remains be restored intensively, in order to get as complete a rebuilding as possible, at the same time leaving the rest of the area in an unrestored state. This might provide a more attractive setting than trying to



restore the entire palace compound in an incomplete or unclear way.

As we know that Surosowan Palace was built and rebuilt many times, so that the restoration between the older and newer remains should be clearly marked with date and general information, as in places where there are two or more buildings and structure phases evident. In order to ensure that the result of structural restoration will not be misunderstood, the architects and the archaeologists must be responsible not only for the discovery and interpretation of archaeological data, and the insistence on accuracy in the restoration project, but also act as scientific conservators. It is no longer expected, however, that a single individual will handle all these aspects. Rather, the archaeologist, architect, and restoration specialist will work together in this project to achieve the same goal, to preserve the physical remains of the past and to employ them in perpetuating the Banten historical heritage. Also, Hugh Braun describes a fungus, spread by spores, whose long tendrils creep considerable distances to find wood, penetrating mortar joints of brick walls with such determination that a whole wall may become filled with a mass of threadlike tendrils. The way to cope with this situation is to cut horizontal chases every two or three feet in the wall, each chase penetrating nearly to the center of its thickness, make a temporary dam of clay at the





edge of each chase, and completely fill the trough thus created with fungicide, allowing it to seep down through the wall by gravity. Care must be taken to employ a solution which will not subsequently stain the plaster.<sup>7</sup>

#### Kaibon Palace

Kaibon palace was built in the 19th century during the reign of Sultan Syafiuddin 1809. It was the residence of ratu, (Queen) Aisyah, his mother, but unfortunately, the building was destroyed by the Dutch East Indies Government in Batavia (now Jakarta) in 1832 (see background history of Kaibon Palace). The structures, including foundations, walls, floors and basements, were of brick and rock. This site has been excavated, but will not be restored until all of the original structures are known, and the total excavations are complete. The variety of brick bonds found during the 1984 excavation, such as Flemish bonds found along the walls of main buildings, and also British bonds in the parts of the arch forms of doors in every system of construction, might be limited only by the imagination of the architect or artisan during the time they were made.

The great burst of archaeological activity in the ruins of this palace, must be admirably aimed at the exploration and interpretation of the past. The impact of such activities has been immeasurable; it has altered the



conceptual picture of Ancient Javanese history. The logic of the procedure is, so far as it goes, is strong: most of the artifacts discovered in any dig could not long survive naked exposure to the climate of the site-let alone to the attentions of honest tourists.<sup>2</sup> Before excavating this site, recent advances in photography and other techniques of documentation have served to somewhat mitigate the negative aspects of archaeological investigation, data lost through removal from context. Though materials are carefully recorded, and small artifacts, and movable fragments discovered on site are saved and moved to the Site Museum, the Site Museum of Banten is rather far removed from the Kaibon site, so that the artifacts will never again be seen in their proper contextual setting. The technique of conserving this site focuses on the controlling of the efflorescence which originates in the mortar. Salts, principally sodium carbonate, potash and magnesium, in the brick is dissolved by water absorbed by the mortar and later precipitated to the surface, leaving a white deposit as the water evaporates. When dry, the deposit can usually be brushed off, but the brick may have to be washed and rewashed until the offending salts have been leached out. To eliminate efflorescence permanently, the brick must be protected from water and dampness.

Important for the preservation of the site, is the relationship of the archaeologist to other professionals as



they try to solve the problems of preserving the site. One of the greatest pleasures of a building is the appreciation of the observation of the relationships involved in restoration. The preservation activities must be responsible for the conservation, especially the preparation of working drawings, must constantly bear in mind that the architect is not a designer in the normal sense of the word. He must be a detective, finding and interpreting clues, and the drawings for the work to be done under his direction must be documented and authenticated in every detail. He must not only indicate what changes he proposes to make in the structure, but also include working drawings for a conservation showing the precise location based on conservation techniques.<sup>9</sup>

It is wrong to think deterioration caused by spalling or dust can be stopped only by replacing any unsound brick; there seems to be no way to stop disintegration of soft brick once it has started. The failure of some structural deficiencies may be corrected following normal building practices, such as underpinning, replacement or resetting of lintels and arches and replacement of cracked brick.<sup>10</sup> A coat of a solution gives good protection against damage by moisture if carefully applied to brick wall, but to be effective it must be reapplied every few years. A penetrating water-repellent coating sold under the trade name "hydrozo" has a claimed life of 35 years and has given



apparent satisfaction in many applications.

Practically all old buildings share one major maintenance problem, floors are subject to the most conspicuous deterioration through the wear of the feet of hundreds of thousands of visitors and the impact of spiked heels. This must be anticipated and given special attention. If the floor is original work and hence has intrinsic value it should be protected from damage with a surface covering or it will be slowly worn away. Architectural photogrammetry also makes it possible to discover, draw, and measure surface indications of change in a historic building such as the palace, for instance, the interruption of brick bonding patterns where an opening has been bricked in, a lintel replaced, a sill or threshold raised, or where wall notches for bearing joints have been filled. The preservation of architectural brick elements depends largely on the recognition of their cultural and architectural values. It is to be hoped that before it is too late, some of the better examples of its many uses may be preserved.

#### The Compound of the Great Mosque

Most of the building stock in the study area is homogeneous, consisting of two story brick rows which were built within a hundred years of one another. Differences in





architectural style among the buildings of Old Banten, especially the Great Mosque are primarily attributable to differences in the style of their various components, such as porches, windows, doors, cornices and roofs. By examining the various elements of the old building in the historic site in Banten, judgments may be made as to which style they most approximate, but, however, this additional building which was called "Tiyamah" is an instance where a building's style within the study area can be described as "mixed". The survey of categories of style of architecture is, of course, far from complete. It is intended in part to indicate the service ability of the popular categories for the analysis of style. <sup>11</sup> The application of this architecture, even more striking than pertinence of the terminology is the application of precisely the same terminology of stylistic analysis to the non-representational forms in architecture. The Tiyamah building was formally used as a meeting place, particularly to discuss religious matters. The minaret stands in the front yard of the compound of the mosque. In the "Journal van de Aeyse" (de Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indie onder Cernelis de Houtman 1595-1597) we found a map of Banten which showed this tower. In the history of Banten it is mentioned that this tower was built when "Kanjeng Maulana Yusuf" was married. On the basis of the report and documentation, it was the opinion of K.C. Crucp



that, the minaret had already existed before 1569-1570. Moreover, on architectural grounds, it is historically known that at the beginning of his reign, Sultan Hasanuddin had planned the Islamic city of Banten which the Surosowan palace and the great mosque was created to be built. They were to be in the center of the town, the minaret having two functions, that of the moslem activities (call to prayers), and that of a look-out station for ships from the top, especially in the second half of the 16th century, between 1560-1570 A.D.<sup>12</sup> On the northern yard side of the great mosque compound, there are several old and new graves in the cemetery. The Mosque is still preserved up to this day, and it is a life monument for the moslem activities. But research of the building is very important because mud masonry remains environmentally the optimal material for hot, dry climates and requires no cash outlay for raw materials. The wood part of the mosque element can be destroyed by decay fungi, insect, or ultraviolet radiation. As we know that, the wood is a porous material, possessing excellent insulation and working qualities. However, because of the highly variable communication capabilities between cells, the permeability of wood varies greatly. The weathering of wood is caused by rapid wetting and drying, which are accompanied by destructive stresses. Rapid wetting of wood can be prevented by applying coating or finishes, which also protect the wood against ultraviolet



radiation.<sup>13</sup> Coatings slow the penetration of water vapor and liquid water (that is, rain) into the wood. As Moisture enters the wood which has been coated, swelling occurs slowly, and stresses are easily accommodated by plastic adjustments. However, if the coating weathers badly, it may cease to protect the wood against penetration by water, making the wood susceptible to fungal attack. The importance of proper selection and maintenance of coatings cannot be overstated.

Water repellents are another means of protecting wood against penetration by water. Joints where wooden elements meet are extremely vulnerable because they readily trap liquid water, which, of course leads to the development of the stresses previously mentioned and the creation of conditions conducive to decay. Ideally, vulnerable areas of wooden elements should be dipped in a solution of a water-repellent fungacidal preservative, such as penta, and a water repellent, such as wax, which prevents liquid water from penetrating the joint. Capillary action carries the treatment solution to surface areas. Preservationists are generally concerned with arresting destructive action under way in historically interesting and important structures, rather than with protecting newly assembled structures. Damage to historic structures may be caused by continuous out-door exposure with inadequate protection or by insect damage.



#### 4.2.3 Site Museum Development

The Site Museum is a new building situated in front of Surosowan Palace. It was began on September 1984 and completed on January 30, 1985, with the official celebration by Professor Haryati Subadio, the Director General of Culture, Department of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia. The site Museum building consists of three components, a main hall for exhibition of archaeological displays, an auditorium, and a conservation laboratory with quarters for watchmen. The presentation is designed to reflect the activities of the populace of the Banten urban area during the past centuries. Now this museum is able to present the fruits of the archaeological field research on the Banten site in a scholarly fashion. An archaeological approach is applied to the style of this presentation. The primary objective of this museum is to set guidelines on research methods on documentation and conservation of the artifacts, and to come up with a definite plan of action based on the documentation and conservation works engaged in by the museum staff. The emphasis of the course is on the principle of chemistry. The evaluative analysis of the conditions of documentation materials such as papers, photos, maps textiles, and other monumental documentations is important. Environment plays a major role in conservation, and for this reason any study of





the innumerable aspects of documentation and conservation objects in the site museum, which must be preceded by a general consideration of the effects of environmental change in particular, change of temperature and relative humidity.<sup>14</sup> The problems related both to effect of change of environment on the objects immediately, therefore all finds in the site museum of Banten, and many artifacts which are still in the storage, can not be carried out with the purpose to answer certain questions, how to solve the problems of all historic materials from their deterioration.<sup>15</sup> Our daily life is always related to organic chemistry. It is a field of immense importance to technology. Paper, ink, dyes, paint, plastic are all products derived from the study of organic chemistry. Chemical compounds from organic sources contain the element carbon, and each compound has its own characteristic of chemical and physical properties. So that, chemical analysis is very important and it is a basic framework on which any argument for preservation of documentation, especially organic materials which are still in the storage.

More than 500,000 objects now in the Site Museum have so far been labelled, registered and catalogued. The laboratory activities should be continuously conducted to study the artifacts, not only organic material but also stones, brick, ceramic, etc. The similar kind of problems arise, when the objects those have been excavated from the



damp soil are quickly instead of being allowed to adapt themselves gradually to the new environment above ground. In order to prevent such deterioration it is essential on an excavation to keep objects in cool place out of the sun, where they can give their moisture slowly.<sup>13</sup> Pottery, earthen-ware, tiles, and such like are all porous, and if they require strengthening, this can be done by impregnation using dilute synthetic laquers containing polyvinyl acetate or polymethyl methacrylate. It is not possible to repair dusty joints, therefore, for making permanent joints very strong and for water-proofing, an epoxy resin adhesive or araldite is recommended.<sup>17</sup>

The most relevant role of chemical analysis lies in the attribution of cultural affinities to a series of artifacts. Old techniques and sources of each material can be deduced by chemical analysis. Chemistry performs an indispensable function for archaeologists and historians in developing the picture of early man's life, style and culture. The principles have already been understood clearly but incorporating them to actual practice is yet to be achieved. Continuity between the scientific knowledge and the working solutions to the practical problems of the conservator is very difficult since every case is particular in its own way. There are no general procedures to be implemented, the solution lies in the present state of deterioration of the object and has to be assessed carefully. The main issues



in conservation problems can be solved more easily if the conservator can discuss with other skilled professionals regarding the conservation schemes.

#### 4.3 Banten and Tourism

The goal of developing tourism, as formulated in the guidelines of the Indonesian government's policy, is to support and expand employment opportunities, as well as to promote the culture of Indonesia. As a matter of fact, tourism involves many aspects of living. It has a cultural element that deals with a possible increase of the source of the Government's income as well as local people's, and Old Banten is one of the historical sites in Indonesia which is still being restored to preserve its cultural heritage. It is necessary to integrate and coordinate all sectors, namely government, private and social, in order to improve the provision of related facilities, and the quality of services, and to promote touristic activities.

Banten is one region in west Java which has the largest number of ancient treasures, and historical buildings and sites. The Directorate of Protection and Development of Historical and Archaeological Heritage, and also the national Research Centre of Archaeology, have undertaken programs to excavate, restore and to preserve the sites of Old Banten. The Directorate General of Tourism and Local



Government's support of those activities and to promote tourism programs is quite conspicuous. Old Banten has many building with different styles of architecture with symbolic functions. According to John Miksic, these buildings need not be elaborated here. Further, he says:

"Architecture is, at one level, an artifact, albeit a complex one, in view of the number of parts which comprise most buildings. Architecture may have many diverse purposes, and at Banten we have examples of several. Overtly, Speelwijk was built for defense, the Great Mosque for worship, the Kaibon as a residence."<sup>10</sup>

The display of individual structure can be studied, especially the stages of construction and alteration which are recovered from information regarding the chronology of the site. Regarding a tour through Java, De Long said:

"Along the road near Banten, the temporary bamboo shelters erected as part of the brick industry struck me as interesting from the point of view of providing a possible technique for temporary shelters over tourist kiosks, and for providing temporary screens around other facilities. There is a sense of impermanence about such structures which is reassuring on an archaeological site. They are never mistaken as ancient, and they will eventually fall down when no longer wanted rather than remaining as unused ruins in their own right. I have seen too many archaeological sites where permanent new structures were erected with the best of intentions, only to be later abandoned and remain as ugly, empty shells, detracting from the site itself."<sup>11</sup>

Study of nature, materials, workmanship, and traditional techniques of construction in the entire area of Banten can provide some information regarding skill and education of the people who built the edifices which we are now seeking to restore and preserve.





The essential elements of exhibit policies and procedures may, because of the complex subject, seem discouraging to the very large site struggling with a minimum of facilities and small staff. The intention at the archaeological site of Banten is to experiment with the Site Museum exhibit in an effort to approximate the policies discussed. For Old Banten, expert advice and assistance stand by in the site and can usually be had for the asking. "A surprising wealth of specialized information may be found even in a small town."<sup>20</sup> The museum has come to light as the result of work aimed at discovering details of structures; its display of artifacts can be studied by scientists, but among the most rewarding museum activities are those designed for children. The benefits the children receive from their museum and site experiences are recognized and appreciated by the parents, parent teacher associations, school authorities, and child welfare organizations. An organized program of children's activities is one of the best ways of winning community support. Therefore, analysis of these artifacts has been given priority as the main focus of a plan to document the life of Banten's population through material culture. All restoration activities of Old Banten have the goal of producing material which will exhibit one aspect of the Islamic city's cultural identity in Indonesia during the sultanate period; it will serve as an object for cultural



tourism.

"From an early stage of the project, the Directorate has done its best to maintain some balance between the presentation of information on Banten's past via exhibition of small objects as well as restoration of the impressive monuments.....These artifacts and others have been housed in the Site Museum which was opened in 1984. this museum adds a significant new dimension to the infrastructure now available to make the Banten project an effective instrument with which to communicate historical and cultural information to both the general public and scholars."<sup>21</sup>

As is true of Site Museum activities, success depends upon ingenuity and perseverance. The integration of Site Museum services with school instruction is widely practiced; museum visits are school assignments, not sightseeing excursions. The field lecture during their visit can be given at the Site Museum's auditorium. Follow-up discussion and assignment in the class-room will increase the instructional value of the visits.

"Unfortunately, many teachers are not aware of the valuable instructional aids which may be found in museums. The class tour may be directed by a museum staff member familiar with the class needs and its background in the subject discussed."<sup>22</sup>

Old Banten hopes to become a respected and popular institution, recognized as one of the important agencies devoted to furthering the cultural and educational interests of its community and tourism. It has the unique opportunity of presenting through the use of site and material collections an intimate and authentic survey of the origins, growth and nature of the environment and cultural factors



that characterize the individuality of its community. To approximate these goals a number of differing obligations, procedures and responsibilities must be welded together into one active and effective organization. Old Banten has not yet been an example of an endeavor to preserve and restore such a large and complex collection of architectural and non-architectural remains. But such conservation activities can be presented to the public as an educational topic just as deriving of understanding as the message of the exhibits, despite the fact that they seem to partake of a different nature. One should not attempt to design a museum visit as a history book, to be read from cover to cover in a straight line, for no visitor will sit still for such a structured experience of his or her own free will. Field research or archaeological excavation is another side of historic site preservation which can become a means to attract and study visitors to a site once they are there. Furthermore, John Miksic explained during the Seminar on preservation of historic sites of Banten that if at all possible, provisions should be made to allow and encourage visitors to view excavations in progress, with suitable security measures.<sup>23</sup> Old Banten should serve as a cultural center of the ancient city, and should combine visual and performing arts, and art, history, and archaeological subject matter, in order to reach a regional audience. Perhaps the way to make this kind of broadened function



clear is to examine some actual cases. We believe that objects are important and evocative survivals of human civilization worthy of careful study and with powerful educational impact. Whether aesthetic, documentary, or scientific, object tell much about human condition and human heritage.





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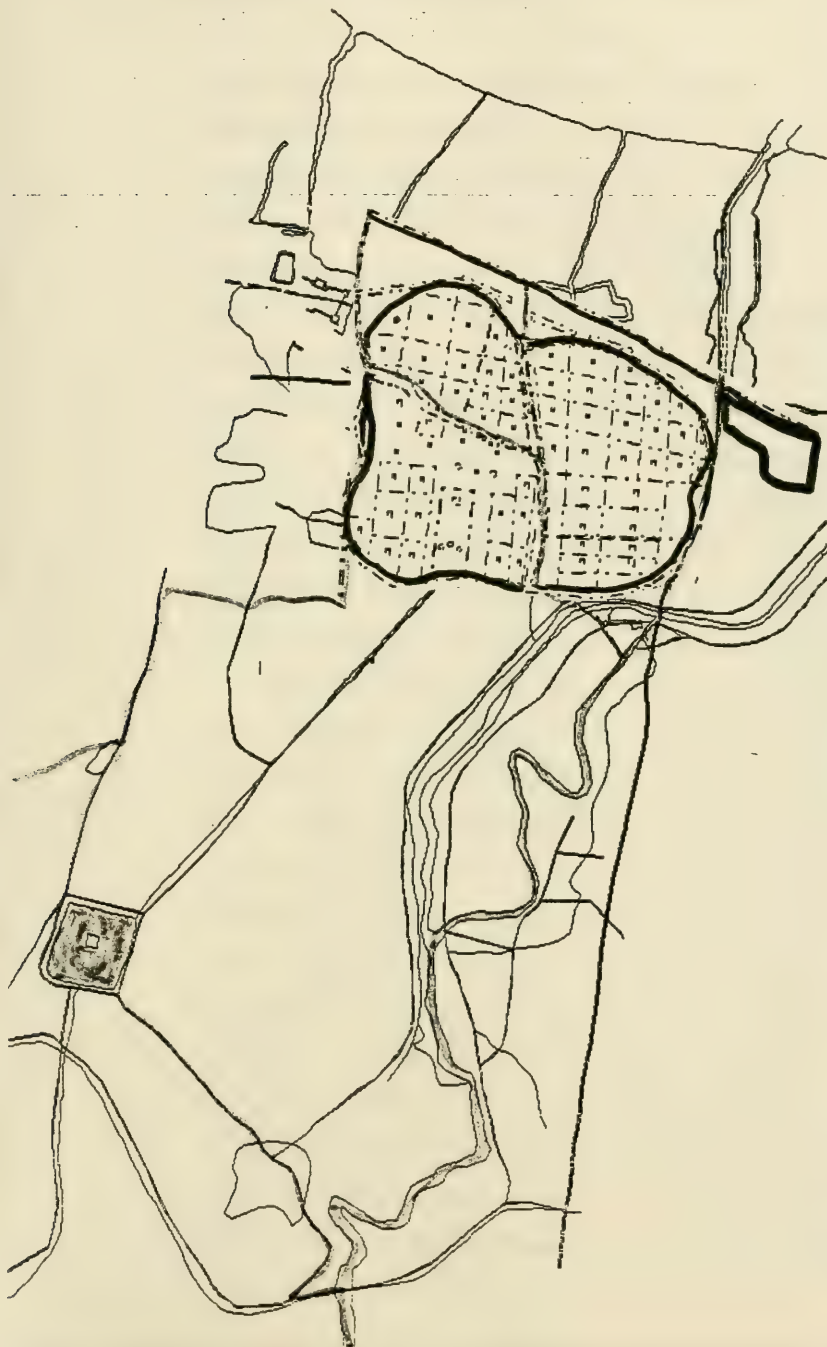
## CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

### 5.1 The Chronology of Banten's Evolution

According to chronicles, on October 8, 1526, the city was moved from Banten Girang to Banten Lor (13 km to the north) initially on the orders of Maulana Hasanuddin's father Syarif Hidayatullah (Sunan Gunung Jati). Building was supervised first by Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin (1552-1570) and his son Maulana Yusuf (1570-1585), who commanded the city and its walls be "bata Kalawan kawis" (Javanese), this means "built of brick and stone". The classic configuration of mosque, palace, square, market, and harbour are already present. Tasikardi lake has been erected by Maulana Yusuf.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1570-1596, Banten has been encircled by a masonry wall and is internally divided into fenced compounds. A canal has been cut bringing the Banten River into the city. During this period, the city has continued to grow. According to Cornelis de Houtman, (who arrived here in Banten on June 23, 1596), "this city looks like Amsterdam".<sup>2</sup> (see ill. 40a) The city has grown between 1596 and 1659, requiring the extension of canals and walls. The city-wall facing the sea has been strengthened with bastions and bulwarks. The market-place of Krangantu located (still outside of the city-wall) to the east mouth of Banten River has been given a wall of its own. To





# BANTEN

A HYPOTHETICAL  
RECONSTRUCTION OF  
THE ISLAMIC CITY  
OF BANTEN  
INDONESIA

HALWANY MICHROB

HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
UNIVERSITY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA 1987

BANTEN, 1596

— : River/ Canals

— : City-wall

— : Coast-line

— : Harbour/Bazar

SCALE NORTH

300 METRES

## LEGEND

----- 1596

----- 1659

----- 1670

----- 1725

----- 1759

----- 1902

----- 1987

## REGIONAL CONTEXT



## SOURCES

Historical sources used in the reconstruction of the city of Banten include:  
- The 1596 map of Banten by Willem Blaeuw.  
- The 1659 map of Banten by Willem Blaeuw.  
- The 1670 map of Banten by Willem Blaeuw.  
- The 1725 map of Banten by Willem Blaeuw.  
- The 1759 map of Banten by Willem Blaeuw.  
- The 1902 map of Banten by Willem Blaeuw.  
- The 1987 map of Banten by Willem Blaeuw.





the west a walled compound for foreigners has been built. According to Cortemunde, to the west of this city are "de Europaeiske loger og Kineserkvarter" (Danish). In English, this means "the European lodgings and the Chinese quarter".

Some canals, city-walls and roads are shifting.<sup>3</sup> (see ill. 40 b) After two centuries, between 1659-1725, the city has continued to grow. Now the canals have been added, older ones filled in both the foreigner's compound (to be "a new town") and the eastern market have grown considerably. The encircling fortress wall has now been completed. Although not portrayed in Valentijn's map, the Dutch have added a stronghold fortress (Speelwijk) in the northwest corner facing the sea. The city-walls and canals are shifting.<sup>4</sup>

Between 1725-1759, the extensions of the road and the canal systems now have been made to create moats around the Suroowan Palace and the Dutch fortress. The canal which curves towards the suspension bridge (jembatan-rante) has been straightened to the east through the south part of Karangantu market. According to Heydt's map, it portrays the process of shifting of the city planning (the aspect of architecture, canals, roads, and city-walls). Through analysis of ancient maps and remote sensing, we try to detect a shift in stylistic orientations, for Old Banten. The extension of the Dutch buildings, accomplished in 1751 when the revolt was quelled, served mainly to solidify the position of the Dutch company and reaffirm Banten's



Pl.no. 40 b.


## BANTEN


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UNIVERSITY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA 1987

BANTEN, 1659

 : Old/ new Canal

 : City-walls

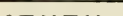
 : Coast-line


 : Market-place

SCALE NORTH

 388 METRES

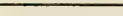
## LEGEND

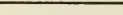
 1596

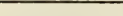
 1659

 1670

 1725

 1759

 1902

 1987

## REGIONAL CONTEXT



## SOURCES

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10. Halwany Michrob, "The Islamic City of Banten, Indonesia: A Hypothetical Reconstruction," M.A. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.



Ill. no. 40 c.

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OF BANTEN  
INDONESIA

HALWANY MICHRON

HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
UNIVERSITY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA 1987

BANTEN, 1670

: New Canals

           : City-wall

— : Coast-line

**Market-place**

SCALE NORTH

### 300 METRES

## LEGEND

..... 1596

----- 1659

1670

----- 1725

----- 1759

..... 1902

1987

## REGIONAL CONTEXT



## SOURCES

[illegible]



weakness.<sup>5</sup> (see ill. 40d and 40e)

After Stavorinus' visit of 1769, no other sources mention the development of this city. According to Breughel, who wrote in 1787, there were some warehouses and a jail, also a pendopo with a platform ten to twelve feet high crowded onto the alun-alun. The residential quarters of the indigenous inhabitants of the city do not seem to have changed very much, only a few houses had tile roofs at this time. In 1795 the population of the Banten district was estimated at 90,000 out of a total population for all Java of 3.5 million. There was still a kampung Arab between Karangantu and Surosowan Palace, but by this time 4/5 of the Chinese houses were said to be empty. The economic attraction of Batavia was too strong, Banten was being reduced to the status of a provincial settlement. The political and military events of the Napoleonic wars, British occupation, and also reimposition of Dutch rule took their course, so that the settlement gradually declined to the status of a village, and burned in 1808-1809. The city of Banten is gone for ever, except to mention that Kaibon was built as a kraton in 1815 for Sultan Rafiuddin's mother, and again, destroyed in 1832 by the Dutch, and its bricks and other materials robbed for construction in Serang. In 1893 Serrurier visited and sketch Banten, and published these sketches in 1902.<sup>6</sup> (see ill. 40f)





## BANTEN

Ill. no. 40 d

A HYPOTHETICAL  
RECONSTRUCTION OF  
THE ISLAMIC CITY  
OF BANTEN  
INDONESIA

HALWANY MICHROB

HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
UNIVERSITY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA 1987

## BANTEN, 1725

- : Coast-line  
— : City-wall  
— : New City-wall  
— : Market place

SCALE NORTH

300 METRES

## LEGEND

- 1596  
----- 1659  
----- 1670  
----- 1725  
----- 1759  
----- 1902  
----- 1987

## REGIONAL CONTEXT



## SOURCES

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9. *Atlas of the East Indies*, 1860  
10. *Atlas of the East Indies*, 1860



Ill. no. 40e

A HYPOTHETICAL  
RECONSTRUCTION OF  
THE ISLAMIC CITY  
OF BANTEN  
INDONESIA

HALWANY MICHROB

HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
UNIVERSITY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA 1987

BANTEN, 1759

                     : New Canals

**Fortresses**

\_\_\_\_\_ : Old Road

**\_\_\_\_\_ : New Road**

SCALE NORTH

### 300 METRES

## LEGEND

----- 1596

----- 1659

1670

----- 1725

----- 1759

..... 1902

1987

## REGIONAL CONTEXT



## SOURCES

[illegible]



## BANTEN

A HYPOTHETICAL  
RECONSTRUCTION OF  
THE ISLAMIC CITY  
OF BANTEN  
INDONESIA

HALWANY MICHROB

HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
UNIVERSITY OF  
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BANTEN, 1902

- : Coast-line  
— : Ruins of City-Wall  
— : New Roads  
■ : Ruins

SCALE NORTH

380 METRES

## LEGEND

-----	1596
-----	1659
-----	1670
-----	1725
-----	1759
-----	1902
-----	1987

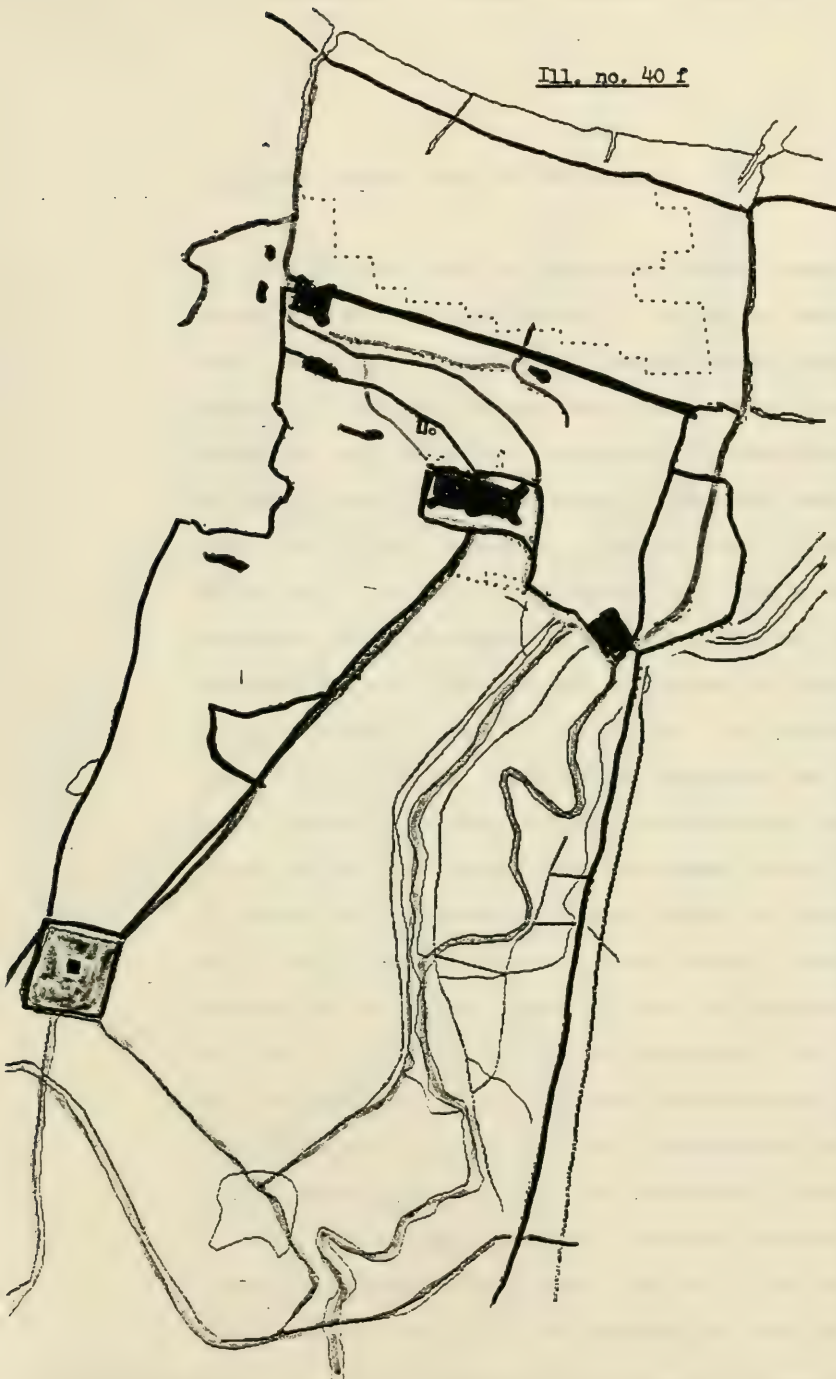
## REGIONAL CONTEXT



## SOURCES

Map: Contribution of the Department of Archaeology and the Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.  
The map was prepared by Halwany Michrob and the Department of Archaeology and the Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.  
The map was prepared by Halwany Michrob and the Department of Archaeology and the Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.  
The map was prepared by Halwany Michrob and the Department of Archaeology and the Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.  
The map was prepared by Halwany Michrob and the Department of Archaeology and the Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.

Ill. no. 40 f







## 5.2 The Present Site of Old Banten

The present site is known by "Banten Lama" or Old Banten (10 km north of Serang). Banten is now an abandoned ruin. Only the canal system, palace walls, kraton Kaibon, Speelwijk, and some meagre port facilities are left standing. (see ill. 40g) According to Serrurier, a map of Old Banten which was published in 1902 had been made some time after 1879. Serrurier, the curator of the ethnographic collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (the forerunner of the present Indonesian National Museum) obtained it from the Resident of Banten in 1893 to orient himself during a visit to this site. It divides the site into 33 kampungs and gives other landmarks as well. The Dutch scholar, Brandes, found the outline of the map "unreliable", but agreed that the names given to the various divisions of the settlement were useful as indications of which groups had inhabited various areas. The first restoration of Banten began in 1915 and lasted until 1930, and was initiated by the Dutch government, but did not mention any shifting of the site chronologically, especially the canals and city-walls. The restoration and preservation of Old Banten continued by the Indonesian government began in 1945, and carries on today. The main problem is that some ruins and sites are scattered, but still, we try to plan to develop this site as an "Archaeological Park of Old





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BANTEN, 1987.

           : New Canals

## Fortresses

\_\_\_\_\_ : Coast-line

**\_\_\_\_\_ : New Villages**

SCALE NORTH

388 METRES

## LEGEND

— . . . — . . . 1596

----- 1659

— . — . — 1670

----- 1725

----- 1759

..... 1902

1987

## REGIONAL CONTEXT



## SOURCES

[illegible]



Banten".<sup>7</sup>

### 5.3 A Master Plan of Old Banten

According to the geological map, the present site is between 1-25 meters above sea-level, with a 2% slope. The land rises to 25 to 100 meters in elevation at Banten Girang, to the south, with slopes of 2 to 5%. Banten experiences heavy rainfall, averaging 1840 mm (72 inches per year and its average temperature is 26-27C. The site has been subjected to repeated flooding and the deposition of silt since the time of the sultanate. In 1883, Krakatoa exploded and deposited as much as two inches of volcanic dust.<sup>8</sup>

A masterplan of the archaeological park of Banten is a must, if successful restoration is to be achieved. Hypothetical formulations of the urban plan at various periods; seeking parallels in other cities; revising it as new information becomes available, thus this plan can help identify areas to be held in open reserve. This sites, generally is still preserved, with some of architectural foundations buried under-ground. A masterplan will help plan for excavation in the long-term future, with some areas held in reserve for the use of specific villages, with permission of the Directorate of Protection and Development of Historical and Archaeological Remains.



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# BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF OLD BANTEN

## A. Chronology of Kings and Kingdoms

No.	Name of King	Name of Kingdom <u>Time-period</u>	Location/ <u>Site</u>
1.	Devavarman (Sr.)	Tiao-pien (Ch.) (Argabinta) 130-168 A.D.	South Banten
2.	Purnawarman (Sr.)	Tarumanagara 395-434 A.D.	Bogor and Banten
3.	Rajaputara (Sr.)	Salakanagara (?)	Pandeglang
4.	(?)	Kosala (?)	Lebak
5.	(?)	Legon (?)	Serang
6.	Wisnuwarman (Sr.)	Taruma, 437 A.D.	(?)
7.	Sili(h>wangi (Sr.) (Mundingwangi or Prabu Sepuh)	Pajajaran 1482-1579 A.D.	Bogor and Banten
8.	Sunan Gunungjati (Jr.) or Syarif Hiadayat 'ullah (Ar.)	Pioneer of the Banten's Islamic Kingdom, 1525 A.D.	Old Banten and Banten Girang
9.	Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin (Ar.) or Panembahan Surosowan (Kr.)	(Islamic kingdom of Banten (Surosowan)) 1552-1570 A.D.	Old Banten
10.	Sultan Maulana Yusuf (Ar.) Pakalangan Gede (Kr.)	Banten 1570-1580	Old Banten
11.	Maulana Muhammad (Ar.) Pangeran Ratu ing Banten (Kr.)	Banten 1580-1596	Old Banten
12.	Sultan Abul Mafachir Mahmud Abdul- Kadir Kenari (Ar.)	Banten 1596-1640	Old Banten





- |     |   |                     |            |
|-----|---|---------------------|------------|
| 13. | Sultan Abul<br>Ma'ali Achmad<br>Kenari (Ar.)  | Banten<br>1640-1651 | Old Banten |
| 14. | Sultan Abul<br>Fathi Abdul<br>Fattah (Ar.)<br>or Sultan<br>Agung Tirtayasa<br>(Kr.) | Banten<br>1651-1672 | Old Banten |
| 15. | Sultan Abun<br>'Nasr Abdul<br>Kohar (Ar.)<br>or Sultan<br>Haji                      | Banten<br>1672-1687 | Old Banten |
| 16. | Sultan Abul<br>Fadal (Ar.)<br>Pangeran Ratu<br>(Kr.)                                | Banten<br>1687-1733 | Old Banten |
| 17. | Sultan Abul<br>Mahasin Zainul<br>Abidin (Ar.)<br>or Pangeran<br>Dipati (Kr.)        | Banten<br>1733-1750 | Old Banten |
| 18. | Sultan Syarifuddin<br>Ratu Wakil<br>(Ar. and Kr.)                                   | Banten<br>1750-1752 | Old Banten |
| 19. | Sultan Muhammad<br>Wasi' Zainul<br>'Alimin (Ar.)                                    | Banten<br>1752-1753 | Old Banten |
| 20. | Sultan Muhammad<br>'Arif Zainul<br>Asyikin (Ar.)                                    | Banten<br>1752-1773 | Old Banten |
| 21. | Sultan Abul<br>Mafachir<br>Muhammad 'Aliu<br>'ddin (Ar.)                            | Banten<br>1773-1801 | Old Banten |
| 22. | Sultan Abun<br>'Nasr Muhammad<br>Muchyiddin (Ar.)<br>Zainul Soldichin               | Banten<br>1801      | Old Banten |
| 23. | Sultan Muhammad<br>Ishak Zainul   | Banten<br>1801-1803 | Old Banten |



## Muttaqin (Ar.)

- |     |  |                     |            |
|-----|--|---------------------|------------|
| 24. | Sultan Wakil<br>Pangeran<br>Natawijaya (Kr.or<br>Ar.)  | Banten<br>1803      | Old Banten |
| 25. | Sultan Abul<br>Mafachir<br>Muhammad<br>Aqiluddin (Ar.) | Banten<br>1803-1808 | Old Banten |
| 26. | Sultan Wakil<br>Pangeran<br>Suramanggala (Kr.)         | Banten<br>1808-1809 | Old Banten |
| 27. | Sultan Muhammad<br>Syafiu 'ddin (Ar.)                  | Banten<br>1809-1813 | Old Banten |
| 28. | Sultan Muhammad<br>Rafiu 'ddin (Ar.)                   | Banten<br>1813-1815 | Old Banten |

(Ar.) =Arabic name  
 (J.) =Javanese name  
 (Kr.) =Krama; high Javanese title  
 (S.) =Sundanese nick-name  
 (Sr.) =Sanskrit nick=name

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1978, no. 18 (cf. Ajip Ismail).

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# B. Dutch Residents of the Banten Residency

Name of Resident	Year	City of Residency
1. J. de Bruijen wi	1817-1818	Serang
2. Vas Wit	1818-1819	Serang
3. J. de Puij	1819	Serang
4. J. H. Pobias	1819-1921	Serang
5. P. Van de Poel	1821-1822	Serang
6. A. A. de Malurda	1822-1827	Serang
7. F. H. Sinulders	1827-1835	Serang
8. T. L. Hora Siecama	1835-1839	Serang
9. C. F. Coldinan	1839-1843	Serang
10. D. A. Bruijn	1843-1851	Serang
11. C. A. E. Wiger	1851-1855	Serang
12. C. F. Brest van Kemper	1855-1857	Serang
13. C. F. de Lanoy	1857-1862	Serang
14. D. van Polanen Petel	1862-1865	Serang
15. J. H. vander Palm	1865-1872	Serang
16. B. van Baak	1872-1874	Serang
17. F. E. P. van der Boasch	1874-1877	Serang
18. W. F. van Andel	1877-1878	Serang
19. J. P. Metman	1878-1881	Serang
20. A. J. Span	1881-1884	Serang
21. E. A. Engerbrecht	1884-1888	Serang
22. J. A. Velders	1888-1892	Serang
23. B. H. H. Reven Waay	1892-1893	Serang





24.	J. A. Velders	1893-1895	Serang
25.	J. A. Herdeman	1895-1906	Serang
26.	F. R. Svenduyn	1906-1911	Serang
27.	C. W. A. van Rinsum	1911-1913	Serang
28.	H. L. C. B. Vlenten	1913-1916	Serang
29.	Byleveld	1916-1918	Serang
30.	W. C. Time	1918-1920	Serang
31.	C. Caune	1920-1921	Serang
32.	J. C. Bedding	1921-1915	Serang
33.	de Vries	1925	Serang
34.	F. G. Putman Cramer	1925-1931	Serang
35.	J. S. de Kanter	1931-1933	Serang
36.	A. M. van der Els	1933-1939	Serang
37.	Coert	1939-1942	Serang

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# GLOSSARY

- adipati -- high title, rank  
 agus -- title for Jong, one of the two Bantenses Moslems during  
           the period of Sultan Hasanuddin (see also Mas)  
 agama -- religion  
 ageng -- big  
 alun-alun -- open square before the residence of a high dignitary  
 asra,a -- hermitage
- babad -- to clear (woods); history; chronicle  
 baluwarti -- city wall  
 bandar -- toll stop  
 Bantam -- see Banten  
 Banten -- name of Islamic kingdom or capital city of Banten, from the word (hypothetical system of terminology) wahanten meaning river, or katiban-inten meaning to have an inten- (diamond) fall; another word is from bantahan meaning protest or contradiction; some people especially foreigners since the 16th century qualify "Bantam" as meaning strong  
 bata -- brick  
 Batavia -- name of a city during Dutch period (now it is Jakarta, capital of Indonesian Republic)  
 batawi -- local expression for Batavia  
 bazar -- or pasar means market  
 belaraja -- or balaraja means Banten borders on Batavia during past century; king's army
- desa -- Javanese or Sundanese village  
 dewa -- deity  
 dipati -- see adipati
- firasat -- physiognomy  
 fitrah -- clean
- gamelan -- Javanese or Sundanese orchestra  
 fawe -- to build  
 gede -- big  
 gusti -- master, lord
- hadist -- Moslem tradition, theological interpretation; Prophet Muhammad's speech  
 hyang -- title of a deity
- islam -- religion; Mohammedan  
 istana -- palace; castle



Jakarta -- capital city since Pangeran Jayakarta led there  
 Jayakarta -- name of Pangeran during sultanate period

kadigdayan -- immunity to weapons or magic spells

kadipaten -- adipati's territory

kafekihan -- or kapekihan means "Priests' quarter"

kagongan -- quarter where the gamelan might be played;  
                   industrial quarter or musical (gong means  
                   musical instrument) factory; quarter of smiths

Kaibon -- name of palace or castle in which Sultan  
           Mohammad Rafiuddin's mother (Ratu Aisyah) lived

kaloran -- named after Pangeran Lor who once lived there

kamandalikan -- named after Pangeran Mandalika who once  
                   lived there

kapandean -- quarter of smiths

kapuban -- named after Pangeran Puba who once lived there

karadenan -- quarter for high society

karangantu -- name of harbour, karang means coral or rock;  
                   antu means ghost

kasantrian -- Santri's quarter (santri means religious  
                   student)

kasemen -- field for plantation of tamarind trees; quarter  
                   of farmers

kasunyatan -- quarter of the Saints

kawangsan -- named after Pangeran Wangsa who once lived  
                   there

kebalen -- quarter of officers (bale means office)

kenari -- name of tree or fruit; name of Sultan; named  
                   after sultans (Sultan Abul Mafakhir Abdul Kadir  
                   and Sultan Abul Ma'ali Akhmad) who once lived  
                   there

kraton -- or keraton means the palace of Ratu or Sultan

kuta -- city (kota)

langengmaita -- concubines' settlements

lor -- north; name of Pangeran during sultanate period

lorodenok -- or laradenok means beautiful woman; name of  
                   fountain or courtyard in the center of  
                   Surosowan palace.

lurah -- master, lord

madrasah -- (arabic) school; religious-teaching place

maidan -- (arabic) open square

mandala -- territorial circle of political influence

mandalika -- name of Pangeran during sultanate period

mas -- or premas is the title of high society in Banten.  
       According to tradition (babad), Jong and Ju were  
       matris of Pucuk Umum who led Banten during the  
       Hindu-Pajajaran period, Jong and Ju became moslems,  
       and Sultan Hasanuddin gave them titles, "agas" for  
       Jong, and "mas" for Ju.



- michrob -- nich in mosque-wall (directed to Mecca)  
 mimbar -- platform  
 muadzin -- (arabic) means one who calls for praying  
 munara -- or menara, means minaret or tower  
  
 natawijaya -- name of Pangeran who once became Sultan  
 nur -- light, divine light  
  
 pabean -- quarter of export and import duties office  
 pagebangan -- named after Pangeran Gebang who once lived there  
 pagajaran -- name of Sundanese kingdom during Hindu period  
 bakalangan -- large open-square  
 pakowon -- or pakwan means palace (from the word "paku", name of a tree)  
 pakojan -- quarter of the Kojas and other foreign Asians  
 pamarican -- quarter of the marica (pepper) warehouses (other types of warehouses were also there)  
 pancaniti -- five-path; main platform used for playing gamelan  
 pangeran -- prince; lord  
 pawilahan -- quarter of the craftsmen who made small articles of bamboo for household  
 bekarungan -- quarter of the craftsmen who made pepper-bag  
 peseban -- or paseban means a meeting place; square in front of palace  
 penembahan -- or panembahan means veneration  
 penjarangan -- fishermen's quarter  
 pesantren -- institution for Moslem religious institution  
 piagem -- charter, decree  
 pondok -- boaring house (of pesantren)  
 prabu -- title of the king  
 praja -- the state  
 pratok -- quarter of coconut-shell workers (who made pretty little cups, with or without feet, from which medicine was taken) and which are still found at Pulau Panjang (an island 5 mile north of Old Banten)  
 priyayi -- the king's officials, forming the Bantenese elite  
 pulau -- island (many islands which are situated surrounding Banten Bay, such as Pulau Panjang, Pulau Dua, Pulau Lima, etc)  
 punggawa -- officials not of noble blood  
 purba -- very old (archaism): name of Pangeran  
 purbakala -- in oldest time, archaic  
 busaka -- holy inherited objects  
  
 qosr -- (arabic) palace, castle  
 qubur -- (arabic) grave  
  
 raja -- king





- ratu -- king or queen  
 ratu ing Banten -- king of Banten
- sabil -- war to propagate  
 sabrang -- foreign country  
 sahbandar -- or syahbandar means harbourmaster  
 seba -- come to audience  
 sejarah -- history  
 senapati -- commander-in-chief  
 speelwijk -- Dutch fortress made by Hendrick Lukasz  
     Kardeel; named during Governor General  
     Speelman time of office at Batavia  
 sukadiri -- own pleasure; new settlements near (southern  
     part of) Surosowan palace  
 sultan -- (arabic) king  
 sunan -- title of a king or that of wali  
 surosowan -- palace used for 21 sultans during Islamic  
     period (see brief chronology of Old Banten)  
 susuhunan -- family's formation  
 svadarma -- (sanskrit) destination
- tapa -- ascetic practice  
 tatu -- from ratu, name given to Sultan's daughters  
 tiyamah -- (arabic) from tihamah, the building annex south  
     of the Grand Mosque made by Hendrick Lukasz  
     Kardeel; name of town outside Mecca during  
     Prophet Muhammad period  
 tirtayasa -- title for Sultan Abul Fathi Abdul Fattah  
     (tirta means water, yasa is artificial,  
     tirtayasa means irrigation)
- tuan -- sir, mister  
 tubagus -- title for Sultan's sons  
 turunan -- descendant (raja) of kings
- wahyu -- divine token of greatest and honor  
 wedana -- district officer  
 wong -- man
- ziarah -- visit to grave, pilgrimage  
 zikir -- recitation  
 zulhijjah -- twelfth month (of Moslem year)  
 zulqoidah -- eleventh month (of Moslem year)  
 zulvikar -- (arabic) written on "Ki Amuk" holy cannon.  
     The high medallion on the top of the barrel,  
     with Arabic inscriptions. One, at the  
     touch-hole, reads: "la fata illa 'Ali rudya  
     'alaihi la saifa illa Zulvikar illa huwa lam  
     yakun lahu kufuan ahad." which means "there  
     is no hero but Ali, Allah is pleased to give  
     him no sword but Zulvikar; its equal does not  
     exist."; zulvikar = two sided-branch  
     of klewang (a short sword) possessed by



Sayidina 'Ali during the Prophet Muhammad's period.



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